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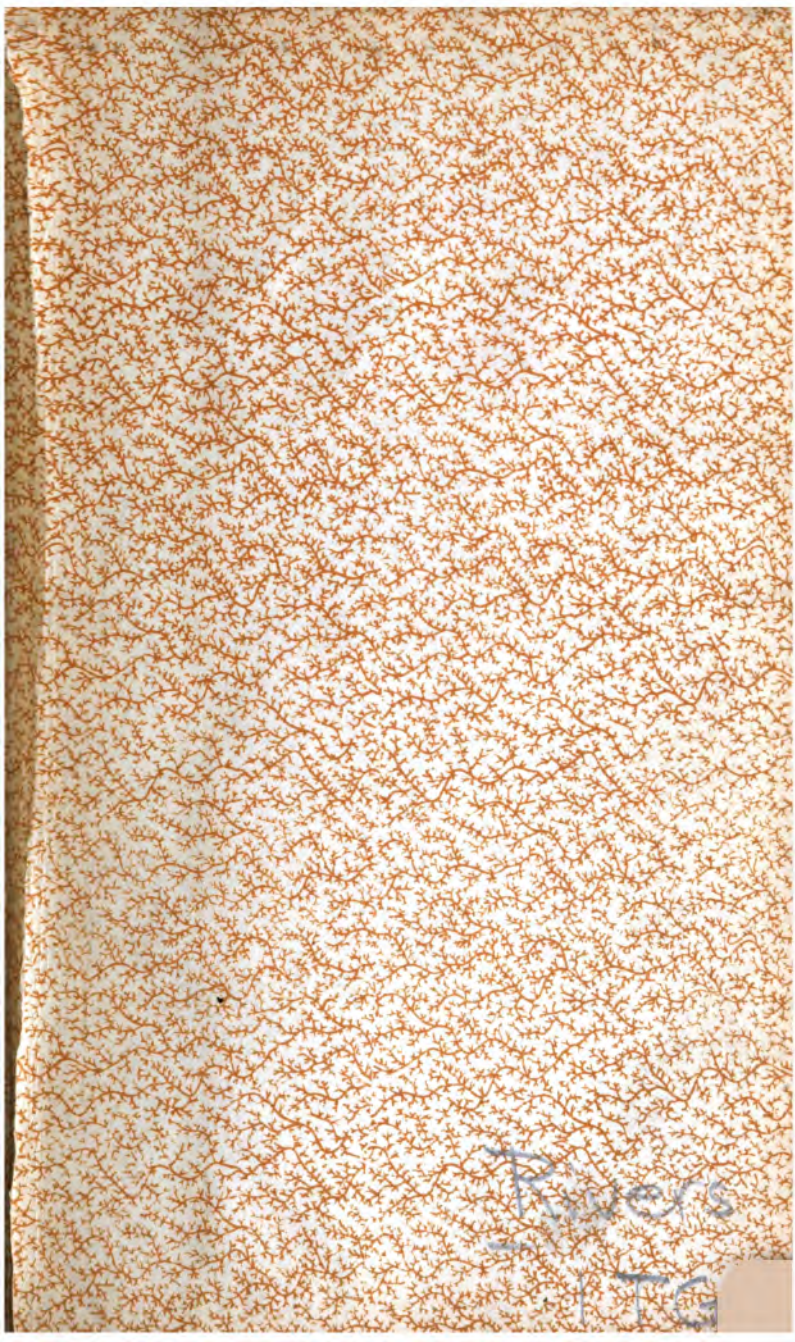

Hon. Geo. Bancroft
with respects of
the author

TOPICS

IN THE

HISTORY OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By Williams James Rivers.

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PREFACE.

THE following articles have been composed from notes which I had collected, while preparing for a private Literary Club an Essay on the Aborigines of our State. They were written in the present form for a daily newspaper, the Columbia "Telegraph;" which fact will be, I hope, an excuse for my inadvertences in style, and for the brevity with which many of the topics are treated. They are the beginning of a series, intended to embrace the principal customs of the Indians; their wars against the colonists; their decay; their removal from the State; the gradual extension of the back-settlements, and several important subjects in our social and political history.

Having, in some instances, questioned opinions of our historians, I have thought it proper to retain the numerous references to the sources of my information.

If my friends, for whom—and at the request of several of whom—this pamphlet is published, shall find what has been written interesting, and not altogether useless, I will endeavor, in my leisure hours, to continue the series.

WM. JAS. RIVERS.

TOPICS

IN THE

HISTORY OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Was Cabot the first European who visited our Coast?

There is in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, a copy in Latin of the letter patent of Henry the Seventh, of England, dated in the "eleventh year" of his reign, granting to John Cabot and his sons Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctius, full power of discovery and possession, in the name of England, of all heathen countries previously unknown to Christians. In 1497 (in an extract in Hakl. from Cabot's map) the discovery of a part of North America, was made by John and his son Sebastian. In 1498, Sebastian, in a second expedition, sailed along the coast in a southerly direction. The *southernmost point* reached by him has been a subject of dispute among historians.

There are no records by Cabot extant. When

he was far advanced in age, and living in Spain, the Pope's Legate, (Butrigarius) visited him, and has left an account of his conversation, in which Cabot says that he "sailed down by the coast of that land toward the equinoctial (ever with intent to find the said passage to India) and came to *that part of this firm land which is now called Florida*—where, my victuals failing, I departed thence and returned into England; where I found great tumults among the people, preparation for wars in Scotland; by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage."

In an account of a voyage made in 1583, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to plant a colony in North America, we are told that "the first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before) was well begun by John Cabot, and Sebastian, his son, an Englishman born, who were the *first finders* of all that great tract of land *stretching from the Cape of Florida unto these Islands, which we now call the New Found Land;* all of which they brought and annexed unto the crown of England."

Gov. Archdale, in his "Description of Carolina," published in 1707, says: "Sir Sebastian Cabot [*Sir* is an error] at the charge of Henry VII., *first discovered* that part of the Continent which is called Florida, which begins at Cape Florida, in the latitude of about 25° and runs north-east to 36° 30′;" and "Carolina only is its northern part, viz: from 29° to 36° 30′."

In the next year Oldmixon published his History also in London, and questioned Archdale's asser-

tion, that Carolina was discovered by Cabot, stating that it does not appear from any authentic historian that "Sir Sebastian Cabot *ever got so far to the south.*"

Notwithstanding this, in a "Description of South-Carolina," (London, 1761,) attributed to Gov. Glen, it is stated that "Charles the Second, of England, *in right of our first discovery* by Sebastian Cabot, *made a grant thereof* [*i. e.* Carolina] to the Earl of Clarendon, and seven other proprietors."

Hewit, "History of South-Carolina," 1779, says indefinitely, and after the language of Cabot, that the latter "sailed along the coast of the Continent as far as that part which was afterwards called Florida, where he took his departure and returned to England. Thus England claimed the honor of discovering the Continent of North America, and by those voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, all that right and title to this extensive region, founded on prior discovery, must be vested in the crown of England."

But in the next year, 1780, Chalmers, in "Political Ann. of United Col.," states more particularly that the region between 36° north latitude and Cape Florida, was claimed by England on the discovery by Cabot.

Ramsay (Vol. 1, p. 28) merely says that "near the end of the fifteenth century the King of England, according to currently received opinions, obtained a property in the soil of North America, from the circumstance that Cabot, one of his subjects, was the first Christian who sailed along the coast."

I will quote but from two works which do not treat of Carolina. In the life of Cabot, in Sparks's Am. Biog., it is stated that Sebastian Cabot, having sailed to the south as far as Cape Florida, re-crossed the Atlantic.

Anderson's Hist. of Commerce (Vol. 1, p. 549,) "*our* Cabot's discovery of the whole coast of North America, from 68° north, down to the south end of Florida."

From these consecutive statements, (and many more could have been inserted) it might be inferred more or less directly, that the shores of South-Carolina were first beheld by Englishmen. This inference is not effected by any uncertainty with regard to the extent of country meant by "Florida" in the various authors, or by the intention of any of them to claim for England a right to all North America, from Cabot's discovery of a part only. Many of them say that Cabot sailed along the coast as far as Cape Florida. The others do not contradict it. This Cape always meant (as far as my research extends) the same place, viz: near the southern point of the present State of Florida.

On what authority rests the fact so often asserted?

Dr. Holmes, Annals, 1805, quotes from the account of the Pope's Legate, already given; but instead of "came to that part of this firm land which is now [in the first part of the sixteenth century] called Florida," informs us that Cabot "came to the southernmost part of that tract of the Continent

which has since been called Florida." (Vol. 1, p. 18.) In a note on this subject he remarks: "Some authors say that the Cabots sailed no farther to the south than to 38° or 36° north latitude. P. Martyr says Cabot went nearly as far south as the latitude of the straits of Hercules or Gibraltar. Dr. Belknap (Amer. Biog. 1, 154) accordingly considered 36° as the extent of the voyage; and Dr. Foster (Voy. 167) on the authority of that passage in P. Martyr, says: "Sebastian Cabot must have been almost as far south as Chesapeake Bay in Virginia.

"But the entire passage in the original (p. 232) seems to imply that Cabot proceeded *still* to the west, probably southwesterly as the coast lies, *after* he had reached the 36° of latitude. P. Martyr having mentioned the obstruction which Cabot found from the ice, in his voyage to the North, adds: "Quare coactus fuit, uti ait, vela vertere, et occidentem sequi: tetenditque tantum ad meridiem, littore sese incurvante, ut Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradum æquarit: *ad occidentemque profectus tantum est, ut Cubam insulam a lævo, longitudine graduum pene parem, habuerit.*" Obscure as this passage is, it satisfies me that Cabot sailed to Cape Florida, which lies in 25° 20′ north latitude."

Now, from the state of discovery and of the science of navigation at the time, Martyr must have known almost as well as we know, 1. That Cuba is *thirteen degrees* south of the Straits of Gibraltar. 2. That from Cabot's easy means of finding his latitude, he could hardly have failed to mention the fact, had he sailed so far south. 3. That Cabot

must have sailed *more south than west* (and much beyond the Cape of Florida) to reach the westward of Cuba, or to have had Cuba on his left while he was sailing south. 4. That when he was at Albemarle Sound, or Chesapeake Bay, he was so far west as to be in the longitude of Cuba, having this Island on his left. "Longitudine graduum," plainly means *longitudinis gradibus*. Yet Dr. Holmes italicises 'ut Cubam,' etc., and immediately concludes that "Cabot sailed to Cape Florida, which lies in 25° 20′ north *latitude*." It is true, that the extent of Cuba places its eastern point beyond the longitude of Chesapeake Bay, and its western beyond that of Cape Florida; but no argument can be drawn from this fact, touching Cabot's southern course, that can be at all supported by the language of Martyr.

To corroborate the first argument, I will here add two extracts from the same work of Martyr. The Island of Cuba is "neere Hispaniola, on the west, yet so toward the north that the Tropick of Cancer divideth Cuba in the middest." (4th Dec. Chap. I.) Did not Martyr know the distance of the Tropic of Cancer, and consequently of Cuba, below the Straits of Gibraltar? In his seventh Decade he gives an account of the discovery of "Chicora and Duhare." Galvano, also a cotemporary of these events, says Chicora and "Gauldape" were in 32° north latitude. These places were *on the coast of South-Carolina*. Martyr supposes them *to join* "Baccallaos," or the land discovered by Cabot; "They affirm that they lie under the same altitude of degrees, and the same parallels under which An-

daluzia of Spain lyeth." Does not Dr. Holmes make Martyr contradict himself, if the inference be correct which he draws from the passage quoted in Latin?

I have dwelt upon this passage because it is *the sole authority* which I have found referred to, to substantiate the oft-repeated assertion that Cabot sailed as far as Cape Florida. Those who have written histories of South-Carolina, from Archdale to Ramsay, refer to no authority on this subject. Oldmixon was not heeded in his correction of Archdale, and in his declaration that no authentic historian had said that Cabot had sailed so far south. As late as 1847 Dr. Stephens (Hist. Georgia, p. 4,) infers from the accounts of Butrigarius and Martyr that Cabot probably discovered *the coast of Georgia.* Bancroft (Vol. 1, p. 11.) confines his inference to Albemarle Sound. I have not yet been able to obtain the Memoir of Cabot, by Mr. Biddle; Mr. Carroll (Intro. Hist. Coll.) cites it as his authority for saying, as Bancroft does, that Cabot sailed "as low south as Albemarle Sound."

For the amusement of those who have had patience to follow me, I will insert Martyr's digression, in which occurs the passage already discussed. (3d Dec. Ch. 6, Hak. Suppl. p. 495.) "For they also which have searched the frozen sea, and sayled from thence into the west, doe likewise affirme that those north seas flowe continually toward the west, although nothing so swiftly. These north seas have bin searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet in manner an infant, his parents

carried with them into England [he was born in England, vide Bancr. Vol. 1, p. 7, in nota] having occasion to resort thither for trade of merchandize, as is the manner of the Venetians to leave no parte of the worlde unsearched to obtayne rychesse. Hee therefore furnished two shyppes in England at his own charges; and first with three hundred menne, directed his course so farre towarde the north pole that even in the moneth of July he found monstrous heapes of ise swimming on the sea, and in manner continuall day light. Yet sawe hee the lande in that tracte free from ise, whiche hadde beene moulten by heate of the sunne.

"Thus seeing such heapes of Ise before him, hee was enforced to turne his sayles and followe the west, so coasting still by the shore, that he was thereby brought so far into the south, by reason of the lande bending so much southwarde, that it was there almost equalle in latitude with the sea called Fretum Herculeum, having the north pole elevate in manner in the same degree. He sayled likewise in this tracte so farre towards the west, that he hadde the Island of Cuba on his left hande in manner in the same degree of longitude. As he travayled by the coasts of this great land, (which he named Baccallaos,) he sayth that he founde the like course of the waters towards the west, but the same to run more softly and gentlely than the swift waters which the Spanyardes founde in their navigations southwarde. Wherefore it is not only more like to be true, but ought also of necessity to be concluded, that between both the lands hitherto unknown there

should be certayne great open places, whereby the water should thus continually pass from east into the west; which waters I suppose to be dryven about the globe of the earth, by the incessant moving and impulsion of the heavens, and not to be swalowed up and cast out agayne, by the breathing of Demogorgon, [spirit of the earth,] as some have imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to flow and reflow. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccallaos, because that in the seas thereabout he found so great multitude of certain bygge fishes, much like unto Tunnies, (which the inhabitants call Baccallaos,) that they sometimes stayed his shyppes. He found also the people of those regions covered with beastes skinnes, yet not without the use of reason. He also sayth there is great plentie of bears in those regions, which use to eat fish; for plungeing themselves into the water where they perceive a multitude of these fyshes to lie, they fasten their clawes into their scales, and so drawe them to lande and eate them; so that (as he sayth) the beares being thus satisfied with fyshe, are not noysome to menne. He declareth further that in many places of these regions, he sawe great plenty of laton [copper, "orichalcum,"] among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friende, whom I use familiarly and delight to have him sometimes keepe mee companie in my own house."

THE EARLIEST VISITS TO OUR SHORES—VASQUEZ DE AYLLON, VERRAZZANO AND RIBAULT.

I confess that my opinions are unsettled in regard to several important points connected with this subject. But since the last article was sent to you, I have thought that a few words upon this topic are necessary as a sequel to that, and an introduction to the third. It may also be interesting for the opportunity which it presents of exhibiting one or two errors that occur in our latest authors.

In some of the histories of South-Carolina, we read of Columbus and Cabot; of the adventures of Vasquez, Verrazzano, Ponce, De Soto, Ribault, and Laudonniere, and of the dramatic achievements of Melendez and De Gourges. The Carolina granted to the proprietors by the second charter of Charles II., included all the region between 29° and 36° 30′ of north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But this connection is too slight to justify the wandering beyond our present boundary into the romantic fields of Spanish exploit, unless it be to record such actions as influenced colonization, or the subsequent course of events within our State. There is, however, such a tinge of knight-errantry in the adventures of these old voyagers, and so fascinating a quaintness in the chronicles of their deeds, that one can hardly refrain from narrating something of them. But the same privilege belongs to many other Southern States.

South-Carolina was *first visited* in 1520, by the

expedition in which Vasquez de Ayllon was interested as a partner. The object was to obtain slaves to work in the mines of Hispaniola. Vasquez, it is probable, did not accompany this expedition. It is, therefore, only for the convenience of a name that the first discovery of our coast is ascribed to him. Before his second expedition, Verrazzano, in March 1524, discovered land in 34°, and sailed along the shore, as he himself tells us, fifty leagues *south* of this point. He is entitled to greater consideration than that which has hitherto been accorded to him in the histories of our State.

The latest writers (Holmes, Bancroft, Carroll, Simms and Stevens,) appear to have decided that Vasquez's party landed at the Combahee river. The *same* writers state that Ribault left his settlement near this river, viz: at Port Royal. From the narrations which I have read of these expeditions, I cannot believe that both these statements are correct. I doubt the former. In the account obtained by Martyr from the lips of Vasquez, from his servant, an inhabitant of "Chicora," who had learned Spanish, and from written reports of some who had been engaged in the first voyage, the following names are given: Chicora, Duhare, Xapida, Hitha, Xamunambe, Tihe, Arambe, Guacaia, Quoharthe, Tanzacca, and Pahor, as countries, and Datha, as King of Duhare. A large number of the natives were kidnapped. In 1525, in Vasquez's second voyage, one of his ships was stranded at the entrance of the same river, and "many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened into ac-

tive resistance." (Bancroft—"Two hundred were murdered." Carroll, from Holmes's Ann.)

Only thirty-seven years had elapsed when Ribault's settlement was made. Maccou, Audusta, Touppa, Hoya, Mayou, Stalame, Ovade, and Couexis, are mentioned by Laudonniere, (who accompanied Ribault,) as Indian kings in the neighborhood of Fort Charles. The natives were from first to last *exceedingly friendly*. They evinced this friendship before they could have been aware that their visitors were not Spaniards. Stalame lived "fifteen great leagues" northward of the Fort—Ovade twenty-five leagues to the southward—and Couexis still further. This extent of country certainly should have occasioned the mention by Laudonniere of at least one name *similar* to one of those in the account of Vasquez. The names of countries, and of the Caciques who governed them, are generally the same in the reports of the early voyagers.*

Without further consideration at present of the discrepancy of these statements, I will select one of

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* NOTE.—In addition to the arguments in Appendix A. of Johnson's Life of Greene, in relation to the site of Charles's Fort, vide Hilton's Relation of 1662, (Force's Coll. vol. 4, number 2,) who saw the "ruins of an old Fort, compassing more than half an acre of land within the trenches, which we supposed to be Charles's Fort," &c. We must be careful not to confound the Arx Carolina, built by Laudonniere, on the river May, with the Fort here spoken of. In the rare collection of De Bry, published in 1590, (a copy is in the valuable library of Judge King,) there is a print of Port Royal, "Portus Regalis sive Flumen S. Helenæ," by the artist Morgues, who accompanied Laudonniere. Its resemblance to the modern map of that place leaves no doubt on my mind as to the situation of Ribault's settlement.

equal importance which can be more readily dis proved.

Bancroft ends his narration of Vasquez's kidnapping with these words, (vol. 1, p. 36): "Thus the seeds of war were lavishly scattered where peace only had prevailed, and enmity was spread through the regions where friendship had been cherished." Mr. Carroll has correctly rendered the meaning of this sentence by his addition to it: "To what a late period these bitter recollections were maintained, will appear in reading the accounts of the Indian wars subsequently carried on against the English colonists of Carolina." This is not true. For (1.) no hostility of the Indians extended, *on this account*, to the French settlers.

When the provisions at Charles Fort had failed, the Indians supplied them, even to their own inconvenience, going themselves into the forest to subsist on acorns and roots. When the Fort was accidentally destroyed by fire, Maccou and Audusta, (if this be "Edisto," it strengthens the argument, by including both sides of St. Helena Sound,) came with many of their subjects, and re-built it for the French. There seems to have been no "recollections" of Vasquez's conduct among these tribes. I have here supposed these authors' own statement of Vasquez's landing at the Combahee to be correct. If it be urged that the hostility of the Indians did not extend to the whites in general, but to that nation who had injured them, there is no refuge here; for (2.) on Hilton's arrival at St. Helena, Spaniards were living there in friendship with the natives.

The English settlers in 1671, found the first hostile Indians West and Southwest of Charleston, acting through *the instigation of the Spaniards.* (MS. Records of 1671 in Sec. of State's Off.) Again, we find the Yamassee at first, allies of the Spaniards, then hostile to them, and joining the English colonists in their attack on St. Augustine, and finally in the Spanish interest, and most cruel enemies to the English until routed from our borders.

These *facts* are sufficient to prove that the kidnapping of the inhabitants of "Chicora" by Vasquez, is wrongly assigned as the cause of subsequent hostilities.

There is another statement, first made by Verrazzano, which has gained a permanent place in our history; perhaps because it admits a beautiful comparison and contrast between the characters and habits of the Northern and Southern Aborigines. It is easy, in a single sentence, without drawing any particular line of demarkation, to assert that the Northern Indians were much inferior to the Southern, in courtesy of manners, suavity of disposition, warmth of friendship, in the arts and offices of domestic life, and even in civilization. But lest I become tedious or appear to object to more of the contrast than I intend, I will be very brief, and confine my remarks to one point, viz: their relation to the whites as friends and foes. It would be difficult to show, from the time of Verrazzano to the present times of the Seminoles and Camanches, that the Southern Indians have been better friends to the whites than those of the North; that they have

been less easily provoked to hostility, or more readily appeased. Frobisher and Cartier, in their intercourse with the natives of the barren sea-coast at the North, treated them injudiciously, and incurred their enmity; but Davis, who acted wisely, met with many "gentle and loving savages." Massasoit needed no golden link from a daughter's love to strengthen the bond of friendship with the infant colony of Plymouth. Ponce de Leon, while dying from the wound inflicted by the implacable Floridians; or De Soto, while taunted and defied at the Mississippi: or the Spanish Friars doomed to martyrdom, without the consolation of having saved one soul, might, with reason, very happily have added (could they have been consulted) a few sentences to our historians' general character of the Southern Indians.

Was South-Carolina called Chicora by the Indians?

It is well known that in our history and literature, the name of Chicora is applied to the State. Mr. Bancroft and Dr. Stevens have come to our aid to perpetuate this error. The chief authority for the assertion is the report of the associates of Vasquez de Allyon in the kidnapping expedition of 1520. In the discussion of this topic it is not necessary to decide whether the party did or did not land at Combahee river; for it will equally follow that

South-Carolina was not called Chicora by the Indians, if we shall prove from the same report that the name did not extend to all that small portion of the State.

Besides what has already been noticed in Vasquez's account in Martyr, we are informed that "they thoroughly searched the chief countries Chicora and Duhare, in a few days space, and many of them [the different countries] far extended into the land, joining together where they cast anchor." "Leaving Chicora, therefore, they went unto the other side of that Bay, and took the country called Duharhe; Aiglionus [Vasquez] saith the inhabitants thereof are white, which also Franciscus, the tawny Chicorane [Vasquez's servant before mentioned] with yellow hair down to the ankles, affirmeth." "The Spaniards traveled through many countries of that great province, whereof they named these, Arambe, Guacaia, Quohathe, Tanzacca, Pahor." Martyr says that the account he gives is in part from what Vasquez "showed unto me set down in writing by report of his fellows, and which the Chicorane, by word of mouth, confessed."

Galvano, a man of distinguished honesty, and well acquainted with the discoveries of his times, says, "In the year 1520, the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon and other inhabitants of St. Domingo, furnished two ships and sent them to the isles of Lucayos to get slaves, and finding none, they passed along by the firm land beyond Florida, unto certain countries called Chicora and Gualdape, unto the river Jordan and the Cape of St. Helena, stand-

ing in 32° toward the North. They of the country came down to the sea, to see the ships, as having never before seen the like; the Spaniards went on land, where they received good entertainment, and had given unto them such things as they lacked. But they brought many of them away for slaves. But in the way one of their ships sunk, and the other was in great hazard. *By this news* the Licentiate Ayllon, knowing the wealth of the country, begged the goverment thereof of the Emperor, and it was given him; whither he went to get money to pay his debt." Hakluyt's marginal note refers to Gomara (also a cotemporary) as the authority for this passage.

I believe these extracts furnish the true statement of the case. Now, on what ground do historians, from the many names given—from at least the two Chicora and Duhare, on opposite sides of the same bay,—select that of "Chicora" as the Indian name of South-Carolina? Perhaps for its euphony: "The Indians called the country Chichora, a name whose euphony has been in no wise improved by its modern substitute." (Intro. His. Coll.)

Did Vasquez's party explore the interior of the country? Did they remain a sufficient time to determine the extent or the proper appellations of the Indian tribes? What is the value of the report of unknown men, confederates in a revolting iniquity, which was reprobated even in those days, and by the Senate of Hispaniola, of which Vasquez himself was a member? Besides, it can easily be shown that the country now called South-Carolina was

inhabited, at the period of the earliest English accounts, by numerous tribes, differing in name and in language, and in general, enemies of each other; and from still earlier French and Spanish narratives, that the condition of the natives must have been the same in 1520. Who could believe that under such circumstances, Vasquez's party found here one people and one name? Indeed, their own report proves the contrary.

But it might be asked, did not other explorers find some portion of the State or some powerful tribe called Chicora? I have not met with such a statement. In the Relation (by the Portuguese *eye-witness*,) of DeSoto's expedition, 1540, is the following passage: Having traveled eastward, he had reached the Indian town Cutisi-chiqui; "in this town was found a dagger and beads that belonged to Christians. The Indians reported that Christians had been in the haven which was two days' journey from this town, many years ago, [1525.] He that came thither was the Governor, the Licentiate, Lucas Vasquez de Allyon, which went to conquer this country, and at his coming to the port he died, and there was a division, quarrels, and slaughters, between some principal men which went with him, for the principal government; and *without knowing anything of the country*, they returned home to Hispaniola." (Hak. Suppl. and Force's Coll., vol. 4.)

Although the death of Vasquez, and the cause of the failure of the expedition as here stated, may not be correct, we have abundant reason for believing

that no accurate knowledge of the country was obtained either in this or the previous voyage of 1520. The name Chicora does not occur in this Relation. While at Cutisa-chiqui, DeSoto "inquired of the Indians whether they had notice of any great lord farther into the land. They told him that twelve days' journey from thence there was a province called Chiaha, subject to the lord of Coça."

In Laudonniere's narrative of 1562, there is a passage which might explain Vasquez's mistake, if through his desire to be appointed conqueror and governor by his King, or to get "money to pay his debt," he fabricated upon an insufficient basis a magnificent extent of gold and silver plains and diamond mountains, grouped beautifully into one grand whole under the euphonious title of "Chicora." Ribault, in obedience to his Queen's commands, obtained, with permission of the Cacique, two Indians, with the design of carrying them into France. While on board his vessel—from which they soon escaped—Laudonniere tried to learn their language. In his intercourse with them for this purpose, they continually prayed him to effect their release. They promised him all that they imagined the French could desire. "They gave me to understand that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this country which [the Lord] they call Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they told me) a good foot and a half. They said unto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high; but I could not learn wherewith. As far as I can judge, this place

whereof they spake unto me was a very fair city. They said unto me that within the enclosure there was great store of houses which were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like unto themselves, which made none account of gold and silver, nor of pearls, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to show them all the parts of heaven, to the intent to learn in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them *stretching out his hand, showed* me that they dwelt towards the north, which makes me think that it was the river of Jordan. And now I remember that in the reign of the Emperor Charles V., certain Spaniards, inhabitants of St. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certain slaves to work in their mines), stole away by subtlety the inhabitants of this river, to the number of 40, thinking to carry them into their New Spain." Only one, he continues, survived, who spoke much of the Lord of Chiquola, who dwelt in a very great inclosed city. Those who remained at Charles Fort, told Laudonniere "that the Indians showed them by *evident signs*, that farther within the land towards the north there was a great inclosure or city, where Chiquola dwelt." Now, if this were true, why is it that no such city, nor any trace thereof, has ever been found? That no record of any such King is left by those who penetrated into the interior? Vasquez and Laudonniere were ignorant of the languages of the natives. The information of this golden region depended on signs alone. By whom were these signs made? By captives who would have promised

every thing for freedom, or by those who would gladly have beheld their burdensome friends depart to the fairy land of the Apalachian mountains. Similar signs had pointed DeSoto eastward, and then northward, and then westward, until deceived, baffled, exhausted in body and spirit, he rested in death beneath the waters of the Mississippi.

In endeavoring to show the improbability of our State's having been called Chicora, I have not searched for proof that any particular place, or any Indian King was really so called. But the following facts strengthen the suggestion concerning the gold regions of the Apalachian mountains: 1. These mountains were inhabited by the *Cherokee* nations; the Upper Cherokee in the mountains of North Carolina, the Lower in the mountains of South Carolina and Georgia. 2. The Chichesah and Cherokee word for "fox" is Choochola, (Adair p. 56.) It was customary to name tribes and chieftains from animals. (Id. pp. 16–17.) Chicora or Chiquola may have been a Cherokee Cacique, who lived about 1520–62. 3. By the mountains surrounding the Cherokee towns, we can explain what the Indians told Laudonniere, of Chiquola's dwelling in a place toward the North, "enclosed exceeding high." There is also great probability in the remark of Mr. Simms, that Chicora was perhaps the name of a tribe on the coast, which subsequently disappeared.

As I shall not recur to the chronicles of the early voyagers, I will here append a few amusing extracts from them.

Among other things "very strange and admirable" the following tradition of the Aborigines of our State, was told by the Chicorane: "The inhabitants by report of their ancestors, say that a people as tall as the length of a man's arme, with tayles of a spanne long, arrived there—brought thither by the sea; which tayle was not moveable or wavering, as in foure footed beastes, but solide, broad above and sharpe beneath, as we see in fishes and crocodiles, and extended into a bony hardnes. Wherefore, when they desired to sitt, they used seats with holes through them; or wanting them, digged upp the earth a spanne deep, or little more: they must convay their tayle into the hole when they rest them. They fabulously report that that nation hadd fingers as broade as they were long, and that their skinne was rough and almost scaly, and that they were accustomed onely to eat rawe fish, which fayling, they say all dyed, and that they left no posterity of them behind them. They reporte these, and many such idle, vaine thinges were left them by tradition from their grandefathers and their parents." (Martyr, 7 Dec., chap. 2.)

Laudonniere, in establishing his settlement on the River May, sent his Lieutenant, Ottigni, to explore the country round about. He was conducted to a wigman, in which he saw two old men. One of them, to whom he was presented, he questioned concerning his age. "Whereunto he made answer,

showing that he was the first living original from whence five generations were descended, as he showed unto them by another old man that sate directly over against him, who far exceéded him in age. And this man was his father; who seemed rather to be a dead carcass than a living body: for his sinews, his veins, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so clearly through his skin that a man might easily tell them, and discern them one from another. Also his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speak one only word but with exceeding great pain. Monsieur de Ottigni having seen so strange a thing, turned to the younger of these two old men, praying him to vouchsafe to answer him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the old man called a company of Indians, and striking twice upon his thigh, and laying his hand upon two of them, he showed him by signs that these two were his sons; again smiting upon their thighs, he showed him others not so old, who were the children of the two first; which he continued in the same manner, until the fifth generation. But though this old man had his father alive, more old than himself, and that both of them did wear their hair very long and as white as was possible, yet it was told them [the French] that they might live thirty or forty years more, by the course of nature: although *the younger* of them both was not less than *two hundred and fifty years old.*" Landon. in Hak.

But this is not more extravagant than the information given to Hakluyt by Nic. Burgoi[illegible]ol.

2, p. 361,) that the mountains northward of St. Helena "shine so bright in the day, in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they travel unto them by night;"—or than the following from the voyage of Sir Jno. Hawkins: "The Floridians have pieces of Unicorns' horns which they wear about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtained many pieces; of these Unicorns they have many," and when they come to drink at the streams, they first dip their horns in the water and then drink. "The Captain of the Frenchmen saw also a *serpent with three heads and four feet*, of the biggeness of a great Spaniel, which, for want of a harquebus, he durst not attempt to slay."

The Massacre of the Cherokee Hostages at Fort Prince George.*

As it is my design to point out to my readers the

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* This article was written for the "Telegraph," when I was too busily employed to prepare one in chronological sequence to the preceding. It is here retained on account of my transition to English authorities, and brief notice of some of them. Our State remained unoccupied by Europeans, from the abandonment of Charles Fort by the French, till the settlement of the English in 1670. It then continued a British Province for 105 years. The historical records of this long period are in the State Paper Office in London. They are contained in more than 50 folio volumes. Transcripts of them can be readily obtained. It is to be regretted that our Legislature at its last session did not adopt the Governor's recommendation in relation to this matter; for the manuscript records in our possession are meagre and deficient.

sources of our history, I shall introduce occasionally a few strictures on the authorities consulted.

In his "Contests with the Indians," (Hist. S. C.) Ramsay has copied very closely from Hewit. The only difference is that he has not copied the whole account. I have likewise carefully collated Hewit and Simms on the same subject. The latter has given but an abbreviation of the former. Mr. Simms, however, professes to have done no more than to have compiled an interesting history for the schools. In this he has been eminently successful, and deserves our commendation and gratitude.

Dr. Hewit was a Presbyterian clergyman. He resided in Charleston several years previous to the Revolution, on the occurrence of which he returned to England. His valuable history has been but little read, because we find not in it the thrilling incidents of our struggle for independence. But why has his account of the Indians (I speak of no more at present,) been so implicitly followed? Is it because he makes no references to the authorities on which he depends? or because he honestly tells us that he "was sometimes obliged to have recourse to very confused materials," that his means of information "were often not so good as he could have desired, and even from these he was excluded before he had finished the collection necessary to complete his plan," that "being in a town agitated with popular tumults, military parades, and frequent alarms, his situation was very unfavorable for calm study, and recollection?" It is true that he has collected and condensed better than those who pre-

ceded him, all that relates to the Indians, so far as they were connected with the political progress of the colony. To go beyond his account, and to discover who were the aborigines of our State, and to trace the complete history of our connection with them, will require a perusal of scattered, and frequently unsatisfactory materials, both in print and manuscript.

The student of the History of South-Carolina, will be astonished in reading Chalmers's "Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies; being a comprehensive view of its origin, derived from the State papers contained in the offices of Great Britain." This work was suppressed by the author in 1782. It has been recently re-published at Boston. Whether his frequent charges against our ancestors, ("a degenerate people,") be truths or malevolent aspersions, it will be the duty of the future historian to decide, through investigations hitherto unattempted.

But, to return to our topic, we must thank Mr. Chalmers for saying of the massacre of the hostages: (vol. 2 p. 273,) "This is one of those events, which, arising from accident rather than depravity of mind, we are apt to regard with horror, without considering how we should have acted, had we, like the actors, been assigned to play an unpleasant part in an uncommon scene." I do not find fault with Hewit and those who have followed him, because they did not read in the Carolina Gazette, or London periodicals of the time, that Lieut. Coytmore received a wound (from which he died in about two weeks,) instead of

"Col. Cotymore was killed on the spot," or for copying into their histories of this event other inaccuracies of little importance; but I blame them for not recording the circumstances that excused the massacre, and caused it to be regarded as a fortunate occurrence.

Fort Prince George was situated on the Keowee, in the extreme northwestern part of the State. The nearest strongholds were Ninety-Six, which was similarly attacked, and the Congaree Fort, near Columbia. In a letter to Gov. Lyttleton, of Feb. 8, 1760, we are informed of the deplorable condition of the back settlements; the "merciless villains" having killed many of the settlers, and driven the rest below Fort Congaree. Here and there, however, a rude dwelling might have been seen, which the marauders had not reached, and where the hardy farmers stood ready for defence. The roads from Fort Prince George were "blocked up" by the Indians. The garrison was small and expected no speedy assistance; for the Governor had but lately returned to Charleston with his treaty of "firm peace and friendship." Within the Fort many had died of small pox, which was still prevailing. Without, the savages encompassed it like wolves, and watched their prey with unwearied eyes. On the 16th, Occonostota, who with others had subscribed the treaty, effected the stratagem with which we are all familiar, and which I need not repeat.

When Lieut. Coytmore was wounded, the command devolved on Miln, from whose manuscript journal we copy the following passage: 16 Feb.

"Lieut. Coytmore we did not imagine would survive the day out. The men swore bitterly that they would kill every Indian in the Fort, and several of them got their bayonets fixed, and swore they would do it immediately. I went to them and ordered them not to attempt any such thing; for if they did, I should be obliged to use such measures which would be very disagreeable to me at this time; but they still insisted that they would do it, let me do or use them as I pleased, for they said they were sure they would do us more hurt than those out, if we should be engaged. I then pacified them a little by telling and ordering them to be put in irons, and tied with ropes. Sergeant Parsel accordingly got what irons were in the Fort and ropes to secure them; and they went to do it, but could not get one of them to come out of the house—for they imagining that we intended to put them to death, by what had happened in the morning, they, therefore, stood on their defence with tomahawks and knives that they had concealed under ground in the house. The men seeing that, went in to drag them out; but they were soon obliged to draw back, for they began to use their weapons, and gave one of our men a mortal wound over the head with a tomahawk, and in the belly with a knife, and another slightly over the forehead.

"With that the men immediately fired on them and fell to work; but before I could get one to hear or answer me, they laid them all lifeless. And happy for us that they were destroyed; for searching the house where they were kept, we found a

bottle of poison that they had hid underground, which we imagined was to poison the well. About eight o'clock in the evening, the enemy without fired two guns, which we imagined to be a signal to the hostages; they crying out at the same time, *to fight strong, and we will relieve you.* 18th. The men, that the hostages wounded died; and two more of the men, of the small-pox."

By the treaty of Dec. 26, (six weeks before the massacre,) twenty-two of the Cherokees therein mentioned, were to be kept as hostages; any number of them to be set at liberty whenever the same number of those guilty of certain murders, perpetrated on the whites, should have been delivered up. (See a copy of this treaty in Annual Register, 1761.) The hostages were allowed to be visited by their friends, and thus had been secretly furnished with the poison and weapons. Adair (p. 250,) speaks very bitterly against the garrison, as though they had committed a heinous butchery. But his account is too inconsistent with the Journal of Miln, to be relied upon. Nor do I believe his statement that "the Indians are unacquainted with the custom and meaning of hostages;" they had certainly had many occasions to learn; and in this instance, had solemnly subscribed a treaty whose conditions they must have understood.

REMNANTS OF INDIAN NATIONS IN SO. CA.—THEIR MIGRATION.

Remnants of ancient Caucasian tribes still exist on the Biscayan shores of Spain and France, in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent islands. In North America the course of migration was from west to east. Tribes of Indians that had battled in vain against advancing hordes, were dispersed "to the salt water"—to the promontories and isles of refuge along the Atlantic coast.

When settlements of Europeans were established on this coast in the seventeenth century, the small tribes around either perished by war, epidemics, and the excessive use of ardent spirits, or, having retreated from the seaboard, were merged, and lost among the more powerful inland nations. These greater nations, in their turn, have struggled against the whites, but to be overborne and driven, themselves in remnants, still further into the interior; and now every star has become to them a star of destiny, moving in its unalterable pathway, and fading and sinking from view far off in the west.

To facilitate the comprehension of what follows, I will divide the State into three parts by the course of the Board, Congaree, and Santee rivers, to the Atlantic, and by a line from Columbia, westward, to the Broad river in Georgia. In the northeastern division, the Catawbas predominated; in the northwestern, the Cherokees; the Southern was inhabited by various small tribes; among these the

Westoes, and afterwards the Yamassees were most powerful. From 1715 this division was in the possession of the English colonists. The Broad (or Cherokee) river in Georgia, separated the lands of the Cherokees from those of the Muskoges or Creeks.

Permit me here to make a short digression. Many of our historians represent the Choctaws and Chickesaws as nations in South-Carolina. If Carolina be considered as extending to the Mississippi, this is correct; but within our present boundary, neither of these nations dwelt. Indeed, in strictness, the Creeks, excepting a small portion of them, must also be excluded. *Trading paths* were opened to these nations, and the competition between the French at New Orleans and Mobile, and the English at Charleston, gave importance to the trade, and alliance of these distant hunters and warriors. In 1751 there were twenty-eight English traders among the Creeks, seventeen among the Cherokees, two among the Catawbas, and but *one* for both the Choctaws and Chickesaws, (MS. Secr. St. Off.,) of whom the former lived 150 miles north of Mobile, and the latter, by the course of the trading path, 160 miles beyond them. (Adair, who traded among the Indians for 40 years.) The precise limits of the various tribes and nations were never ascertained by Government, though there were undoubtedly such limits in every nation that had strength enough to maintain its independence and permanency. Gov. Glen gives the distance of the Chickesaws from

Charleston as nearly 800 miles, and of the Choctaws as somewhat further.*

By repetition it is likewise admitted as an historical fact, that 28 tribes of Indians inhabited our State. This assertion depends on the list in Gov. Drayton's Carolina, (p. 100.) Now of these 28 tribes, I object to ten, as distinct tribes in South-Carolina at the time mentioned by Drayton. On the other hand, several tribes that did dwell here, are omitted from the list. The Westoes had been driven from the State before 1700. The Wateree

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* That the Cherokees had a permanent abode, is evident from their holding the same lands at the period of our Revolution which they held before 1693, at which time they sent a deputation to Charleston. The Catawba country is part of the same which their nation held, perhaps for centuries before the arrival of the English, as they are reported to have been at war with the Five Nations time immemorial. In Oglethorpe's Treaty of 1739, it is said that from the seaboard in Georgia, to the Mountains, was the ancient possession of the Creek Nation, maintained against all opponents, and that they could "show the heaps of bones of their enemies, slain by them in defence of said lands." At this period the Upper and Lower Creeks were computed at 25,000 men, women, and children. Previously, in a treaty with the Governor of South-Carolina, they had claimed the lands south-west of Savannah river, beyond which the Colonists of South-Carolina agreed not to settle. They do not appear, however, to have extended their towns to the coast, for Oglethorpe in his letter of 10 Feb., 1733, speaks of "a little Indian nation, the only one within fifty miles" of Savannah. This people, under Tomo-chi-chi, had been "banished" from the towns of the Lower Creeks. (Vide, conference with Oglethorpe, May 18, 1732. Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 1.) It must be remarked, too, that the lower towns were not peopled by the Muskoges proper, or Creeks, (so called from the numerous creeks in their territory) but by remnants of the Oosecha, Okone and Sawakola nations. (Ad. p. 257.)

and Chicanee, given as distinct tribes, are mentioned by Lawson as one. The Savannahs and Serannas were not, as far as I can find, different tribes. So also the Catawbas and Sugaree, the Winyaws, Hooks and Back-hooks; whilst the Enoes, Toteros, Saponas and Keyauwees lived beyond our boundary on the North; and the Euchees, near Silver Bluff, belong properly to Georgia.—*Vide Force's Tracts*, "*a state of the Prov. of Georgia, attested upon oath*," *Nov.* 10, 1740.

Deeming these errors sufficiently noticed, I return to our first division of the State.

The small tribes north of the Santee, and east of the Wateree, if they did not migrate into North-Carolina, must naturally have embraced the alliance and protection of the Catawbas, who in the early period of our settlement numbered fifteen hundred warriors, and had always bravely maintained their position against the northern nations. They occupied both sides of the Wateree, down to Camden. In 1690 the Huguenots settled on the Santee. Ten years afterwards, it is said that 70 families of them resided on this river. (Lawson.) The English colony in N. Carolina had been firmly established. The great Catawba nation, who were perhaps more conservative in their policy than any other Indian nation, were attached to the interests of the colonies, both in N. and S. Carolina. Therefore any hostile combination of the small tribes, *thus surrounded*, would have been vain and destructive to themselves. But such combination was, from their own condition, impossible. When Lawson

passed through these tribes in 1701, the Seratee or Santee Indians were at war with the Hooks and Back-Hooks, who lived on Winyaw Bay. The Congarees were but few in number, having been reduced by intestine feuds and by the small-pox, which, from their strange mode of treatment, was a fatal disease among all tribes.* There was a remarkable difference in the stature and features of these Indians. "Although their tribes or nations border one upon another, yet you may discern as great an alteration in their features and dispositions as you can in their speech, which generally proves quite different from each other, though their nations be not above ten or twenty miles in distance." The Waterees were more numerous than the Congarees, but a poor, lazy, squalid and thievish people. The Waxsaws, who lived a few miles from them, sent an invitation to Lawson, wondering that he took up his quarters among such Indians as the Wateree Chicanee. The Waxsaws were a remnant of the Flat-heads. Besides this people, and in former times the Catawbas, I believe that the custom of flattening the head was found in no other tribes in South-Carolina. Beyond these, in North-Carolina, the Keyauwees wore "mustachoes or whiskers," which was also an unusual custom, and is sufficient to distinguish them as of a different origin from

* They generally heated themselves in a large oven, and immediately plunged into the river. (Lawson. See also Catlin's N. Am. Indians, where the same practice is mentioned.) The Cherokees reported that in *one year* they lost *three thousand* warriors by the small-pox and intemperance. (Force's Tracts, vol. 1.)

their neighbors. Of the other remnants in this division of the State, very little is known. Their trade was not lucrative. The paths leading to their towns were difficult. The tribes, if not at enmity with each other, were without confederation, and powerless in themselves. Their removal eastward of Lynches Creek, into North-Carolina, would not have been an occurrence worthy of record at the time. As the plantations of the white men increased throughout the country, the natives of the forest—the last of their tribes, perhaps—who still lingered around the burial places of their forefathers and brethren, became hunters to the planters, and obtained for wild turkies, venison and skins, their blankets, and powder and rum; till noiselessly, like the leaves of autumn, they passed away forever and were forgotten. But that many of them united with the Catawbas, is proved by the fact that in 1743 there were 20 dialects spoken among the warriors of this nation, numbering at that time but 400, and including remnants of the Congaree, Wateree, Cheraw and other tribes.* (Ad. p. 224.)

Postponing, until we treat of the extension of the

* It is impossible to trace these remains of "broken tribes," after their union, or rather complete coalescation, with the larger tribes. Such union implied the abandonment of every thing that would distinguish them from the superior tribe. "I am informed," says Adair, p. 267, "by a gentleman of character, who traded a long time near the late Alabahma garrison, that *within six miles* of it live the *remains of seven Indian nations*, who usually conversed with each other in their own different dialects, though they understood the Muskoge language; but being naturalized, they *were bound to observe the laws and customs of the main original body.*" See also Barton's New Views, 1798, p. 45.

back settlements, the consideration of the north-western portion of the State, we will now make a few remarks upon the tribes who inhabited the southern division.

Within twenty years after the settlement of Charleston, the coast thence to the Santee was possessed by the English. The intervening Islands were used for raising hogs and cattle. On Sewee Bay, Lawson found "a deserted Indian residence." There were doubtless many of them in every direction. The Sewees, besides having been wasted by the small pox and drunkenness, had, before they moved from the coast, lost the best portion of their tribe by sending, after solemn deliberation, a grand commercial expedition to England *in canoes*. Their range of hunting grounds was probably between the Santee and Monk's Corner, where it met the lands of the Etiwans (Itwans or Ittawans,) on the south, and those of the Santees and Congarees, stretching down from the north and north-west. (Statutes at Large, no. 73, 1691, and no. 128, 1695.)

Westward of Charleston were also many remnants of nations. The oldest record in our possession shows that war was declared, Sept. 27, 1671, against the Kussoes, who lived north-east of Combahee river, perhaps in St. Paul's Parish; the land of the cacique of Combahee being bounded on the the north and north-east by the land of the Kussoes. (Bk. of Grants, 1682.) The declaration of war authorizes the transportation of captives, *in case they were not ransomed by their nation.* They soon yielded to the superiority of the pale-faced strangers,

and continued in amity with them. This first hostile outbreak of the Indians is not recorded in any of our histories. The Westoes, who lived in Beaufort District, next took up the red-hatchet against their neighbors in defiance of English protection, and being a numerous and powerful tribe, would have endangered the existence of the feeble colony, had they not been themselves destroyed.

As the old record alluded to is in so mutilated a condition that I know not how long the part of it now legible may remain so, I shall be excused for noticing particularly its contents on this subject. May 1670, John Collins "of Kiawah" mentioned; and there are other evidences that the Islands between Charleston and Beaufort,—this latter neighborhood especially—were inhabited by some of the English at the earliest period of our colonization. December 1671, a town, to be called James Town, ordered to be laid out south of Stono Creek, for emigrants from New York. This was four years before the transfer of "Cassor" to the settlers;* and it does not appear that any measures were taken to obtain permission from the natives to settle

* The cession of "Cassor," dated March 10, 1675, is the oldest deed of this nature on record. Cassor must have included John's, Wadmalaw and Kiawaw Islands; "great and lesser Cassor, lying on the river Kyewaw, the river Stono, and the fresher of the river Edisto." The transfer was made "for and in consideration of a valuable parcel of cloth, hatchets, beads and other goods and manufactures." I think that the English, to strengthen the deed of conveyance, took the signatures or marks of an odd assemblage of the natives; there being the marks and seals of four caciques, the marks of eleven war-captains, and of fourteen "*women-captains.*"

on their lands. The individual settlements were far from each other, and if they did not provoke hostilities, at least showed to the savages that scalps and curious articles of plunder might be got with little trouble. June 1672, an act against the selling or disposing of arms and ammunition to the Indians. July 1672, the Westoes threatning the colony. From a loss of MSS. the next notice is about 1678, when the Westoes are forbid to come to the settlement. June 1st, 1680, as the Westoes and their confederates, contrary to the league made with the colony, had "killed, taken and destroyed several of our neighbor Indians, and do as yet further intend and endeavor to prosecute their hostilities against them, to the great harm and discouragement of the people of this settlement," and as some of the English settlers had purchased captives from the Westoes, it was ordered by the Grand Council that certain officers should collect the captives so bought "at Kiawah, sometimes called Charlestowne," and that there they should be restored to liberty; that no arms or ammunition should be sold to the Westoes or their allies; that no smith should mend their guns, &c.

This tribe were soon driven from our State by the Savannahs, (perhaps these were the Yamassees, who are called Savannahs or Sarannahs, bp Gov. Archdale) who lived higher up on the Savannah river. "In Carolina were seated two potent nations, called the Westoes and Sarannahs, which contained many thousands, who broke out into an unusual civil war and thereby reduced themselves

into a small number; and the Westoes, the more cruel of the two, were at the last forced quite out of that Province, and the Sarannahs proved good friends and useful neighbors to the English. (Arch. p. 89.)

The Yamassees and Tuskaroras appear to have been tribes warlike, adventuresome, and sufficiently numerous to maintain their independence, so long as they could keep themselves from collision with the greater nations. Hence we find them in various places. The Tuskaroras once dwelt between the Savannah and Altamaha. (Stephens's Geor.) After conflicts there, they settled in North-Carolina, on the Neus, Contentry and Taw or Tar rivers, and were capable of mustering 1200 warriors. (Williamson.) Coming in conflict with the whites, Col. John Barnwell, of South-Carolina, conquered them; the Cherokees, Creeks, and Catawbas joining the whites against them, as the Yamassees are said to have done in driving them previously from Georgia. Being greatly reduced, but still unwilling to submit, they removed northward and united themselves with the confederate nations on the frontiers of New York. (Humphrey's Hist. Prop. Gospel, p. 305.) Some of them I also find living at Port Royal, in 1721. (Statutes, vol. 3, no. 447.) In like manner the Yamassees, having renounced their alliance with the Spaniards, who had executed some of their chiefs, removed to Beaufort District, in South-Carolina, between 1680–'90, and after the destruction of the Westoes, were conspicuous in our history until their own defeat and expulsion in 1715 (Vide

"An Act to limit the Bounds of the Yamasse settlement," 1707; also no. 357, 1716.) Adair met with a remnant of them among the Catawbas in 1743. But the main portion retreatcd to Florida, from whom the Seminoles (or "refugees,") are said to be descended. Sometimes such broken tribes united themselves for defence, as the Toteros, Saponas and Keyauwees, beyond the northern borders of the State. (Lawson.) The Yamassees belonged to the Lower Creek nation, or confederacy of towns. The King of Coweeta, in the conference with Oglethorpe referred to, says, "We must pray you to recal the Yamassees, that they may be buried in peace amongst their ancestors, and that they may see their graves before they die; and then our nation shall be restored again to its ten towns." The nature of the compact between these towns, and of Indian alliances, will be treated particularly in a subsequent article.

West of Charleston dwelt, in addition to those already spoken of, the tribes of St. Helena, Coosaw (Causa or Kussah,) Wimbee, Cumbahee, Edisto, Stono and Kiawaw. These and the Santees, Etiwans and Sewees, "were commonly called Cusabes." The Wimbees, Cumbahees and Coosaws, must have migrated or dwindled into insignificance prior to 1707. (Vide Act regulating Indian trade, 1707, wherein these tribes are not mentioned, though their names appear in previous acts.) Most of these small tribes had "signed, sealed and delivered" a transfer of all claim to their lands, (Bk. of Grants, 1683;) but forming a barrier against the Spaniards

and their allies, were encouraged to remain in the Province. They assisted us, as far as they could, in war, and were protected by us against their foes, and from the impositions and ill-treatment of the settlers.

But however interesting these details are to myself, I fear that they are tedious to your readers. Omitting, therefore, many things, I will conclude with the statement of a few facts pertaining to the migration of tribes.

The Saludas deserted their towns, on the river of that name, and removed to Pennsylvania, (note on Mouzon's map). A delegation of twenty-six Natchee Indians arrived in Charleston, April, 1734, desiring permission from the Governor to settle their nation on the Savannah (Carolina Gazette.) A party of "Savannahs" from the Ohio river, settled among the Upper Creeks. Six of them, traveling to join their friends in 1753, were apprehended on suspicion and examined by the Governor and Council (Indian Book, Sec. off.). The Indians, says Lawson, p. 170, sometimes remove their abode hundreds and even thousands of miles.* From

* In the manuscript their name is sometimes spelled "Shavanah." In the statutes the Savanna river is called "Savano." "The Shawnees, more properly Saw-wannoo (Gen. Gibson) or Sawano, (De Lact, p. 77) are a southern tribe. They formerly dwelt upon the river Savanna in Georgia, but migrated to the northward, and settled at Pequea in the county of Lancaster and State of Pennsylvania. One of their tribes, called the Pickawes, gave to this place the name of Pequea. A branch of this nation did not migrate to the northward, but is associated in the confederacy of the Muskoge or Creeks. They are called the Savanucas or Savannas." (Barton, p. 32.) "The late Col. Crogan,

MS. Council Journal, No. 24, 1753; Mr. Beamer, trader, being interrogated, says, "Forts among the Lower Cherokees would be a great security to the traders, and would prevent the towns in the Lower Cherokees *from breaking up and going over the hills to live;* at the same time it would draw back those Lower Cherokees from over the hills *to their former habitations and towns.*" Mr. Butler, trader, says, "The Upper Cherokees want to draw the Lower to live among them over the hills." The hunting grounds of the Lower Cherokees stretched between the Saluda and Broad rivers; and as the colonists increased and the back settlements extended towards this region, the Indians withdrew towards the mountains of the North Western Districts.

How a Great Nation was enfeebled.—Indian Warfare.

The Indian trader's life was beset with dangers. He traversed the forests alone. Every bush beside his path might conceal a lurking marauder. While in the rude wigwam of the savage, hundreds of miles from the settlement, to be timid was haz-

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Agent of Indian Affairs, &c., told me twenty-seven years ago, that the Shawnese once lived beyond the Creek nation and in Florida; that they had been driven about continually, until they at length came almost to nothing." (Ib. Appendix.)

ardous, to be audacious was almost certain death. Calmness, firmness, shrewdness, scrupulous honesty, a patient endurance of hunger and cold and parching heat, in short, all the qualities of a good tradesman, combined with the best characteristics of the soldier and commander, must distinguish the man who would be successful in his quest of fortune amidst the wilderness, and among the tomahawks and scalping-knives of distrustful and sanguinary multitudes.

Many traders lost their lives by their imprudence. Many were dissolute and worthless, and were despised even by the savages. Many conciliated favor and ensured their own safety by adopting the Indians' habits and marrying among them. But, on the other hand, some were gentlemen, who doubtless would have achieved renown in the most arduous and important duties of a public career.

Let us follow a trader who is going to the Chickesaws. The Governor of South-Carolina has told him to keep a journal of all that occurs, that he might be informed of the condition, resources and policy of the tribes. We will follow him from the enlivening activity of a thriving commercial town; from the teeming farms and plantations of the colonists; from the huts by the wayside and from the drunken gaze of lounging Indians who have learned only the vices of the white men; from some old homestead of departed warriors, over the ruins of which bounds the affrighted stag; beneath the moss-covered oaks, then far off amid the dull uniformity of interminable pines; over the smooth

river in the swift canoe; across the slippery ford of the boisterous stream; and far again into the solemn stillness of the forest; challenged now by a group of moccasined hunters, tall and proudly calm; now suddenly avoided by the scampering of nude and black-haired urchins to some village near, where old squaws anxiously inquire the price of rum, and the girls offer their choicest smiles for one red bead or half a yard of yellow tape. Again before sunrise he is far away on his journey. But not being accustomed to travel on these wearisome trading paths, and since reckless war parties of the Choctaws are scouring the hilly region through which we must pass, we will let Mr. John Buckles finish the remaining seven hundred miles by himself, and we will borrow his journal when he shall have come back.

Extract from Mr. Buckles's Journal, made in the Chickesaw nation. (Bk. no. 4, Sec. Offic.)—1757, May 28. "A gang of Choctaws set a house on fire in the night, but did no other mischief. June 12. A gang of Quapaws killed and scalped six Chickesaws in the night, at a hunting camp. July 20. Eleven Chickasaws who went to the river Mississippi in order to meet with the French, accordingly discovered several boats on the north side of said river; they attacked them and caught several, but were at length forced to quit them by the fire made by the French; and are returned with several of their party wounded. 24th. A small gang of Choctaws came into the nation in the night, killed a fellow and wounded a child as they were asleep on a

corn-house scaffold. August 1. Five Chickesaws were killed by the Cherokees, being a hunting on the Cherokee river. 14th. The Choctaws kill a young fellow in the night. * * Sept. 26. Three Chickesaws were killed at their hunting camp by a gang of Choctaws." A gang of Chickesaws arrive, who had gone in a war party against the French Fort on the Wabash; bringing one French prisoner. "From Sept. 26 to Oct. 26. Five gangs of Chickesaws went to war against the Choctaws and French, and one gang against the Cherokees; the latter I did all in my power to hinder, to no purpose; they having lost no less than 10 of their warriors, who were killed by said Cherokees. Oct. 5. Five Chickesaws were killed by the Choctaws at a hunting camp. Dec. 15. The Choctaws killed a Chickesaw fellow as he was going out a hunting, and carried off a woman and two children prisoners. 16th. The Chickesaws pursued them; came up with them; killed five, and redeemed said woman and children. 18th. A gang of Chickesaws went against the French on the 20th Sept.; returned, having killed one Frenchman and brought in his scalp. 19th. A gang of Chickesaws returned from war with one Choctaw scalp. Feb. 8. A Chickesaw woman was killed in sight of the houses by the Choctaws. 14th. A Chickesaw was killed by the northward Indians. 16th. A woman was killed and scalped as she was cutting wood in sight of the houses, by the Choctaws."

After so disastrous a system of warfare, how humble and mournful in its tone was their language

to the English Governor; "it is true, some years ago, we did not mind how many our enemies were; but that is not our case at present; our numbers being reduced to a handful of men, and thereby we are rendered incapable of keeping our ground without a continuance of your friendly assistance. We are not able to hunt, nor are we free from the hands of our enemies even in our own towns; so that it is impossible for us to kill deer, to buy clothing for ourselves, our wives and children, or even to purchase ammunition. This the English traders who come among us are too sensible of, from the small quantity of skins they have carried out of this nation these two last years, to what they used to do formerly." (Indian Bk.)

These passages need no comment. Could I have found a similar, and faithful exhibition of the ruin of a nation within our borders, I would have preferred it. But the same practices of mutual revenge and barbarity prevailed among all. Before the discovery of this continent, many great nations must thus have dwindled away,* till none of their lineage was left to rehearse the history of the mighty chieftains who once led their thousands of plumed and painted warriors to the ambuscade and battle field. Sometimes, as we have still on record, fatal diseases broke out, which neither the rattles, nor bags, nor charms, nor incantations of their medi-

* In the "Altera Navigatio, Duce Laudonniero," of 1564, (De Bry,) we find the same system of warfare, "Reges bella inter se gerunt *assidua fere*, nullique viro hosti, quem capere possint, parcunt; deinde caput adimunt, ut cutem cum capillis habeant, qua domum reversi trophæum statuant."

cine-men could check or alleviate; and the sad survivors bade farewell to their homes, and departing far from the infected region, sought for some spot which they believed the Great Spirit had not cursed, and where their little ones might grow up like sturdy oaks, and the eagle and the buffalo become the emblems of their tribe.

CHARGES AGAINST THE POLICY OF THE COLONISTS EXAMINED. INDIAN CUSTOMS LEADING TO HABITUAL WARFARE.

It is needless to enumerate the times and years of Indian strife; the animosities and assassinations in adjacent wigwams; the outrages and hostile collisions of neighboring tribes; the protracted wars and indiscriminate butcheries of nations, contiguous or far remote. We would scarcely depart from the truth in saying that every leaf of their history is stained with blood. In proof of this I refer generally to the Carolina Gazette, from the year 1732, and to the letters and reports of Indian traders and agents, which are in the Secretary of State's Office.

I purpose in this article to examine briefly the charge against the colony of South-Carolina, of promoting hostilities between the tribes; and to exhibit certain customs and traits of character which led the Indians to habitual warfare, and were among the chief causes of their ruin and dispersion.

Mr. George Chalmers ("An Introduction," &c., vol. 1, p. 172,) states the charge in the strongest

language, "Notwithstanding the most vigorous remonstrances of the proprietaries, this province long continued that 'barbarous practice' which was then introduced, of promoting Indian hostility, that they might gain by the traffic of Indian slaves. And laws were procured by the importunities of the chief rulers without success, because they contradicted the degenerate spirit of the multitude." (See also Hewit p. 115.) That Indian captives were sold to the West Indies, we cannot deny. It appears, however, that their tribe had the privilege of ransoming them. (Vide Supra, p. 40.) With regard to the "vigorous remonstrances," I find in the remains of the old MS. records, of Sept. 30, 1683, that *by directions of the Proprietors*, no Indians were allowed to be transported *without a license* from the Colonial Parliament.

But let us conceive ourselves in the situation of the colonists, nearly two hundred years ago, in a small entrenched town on the banks of the Ashley, containing an inconsiderable number of English inhabitants.* Beyond the trenches, or immediate farms, stretches an illimitable extent of unexplored forests, in which dwell countless hordes of savages. Their immemorial and unalterable custom of treating prisoners of war, is a most unmerciful and aggravated torture, surpassing all that the Spanish Inquisition ever invented. Our father, per-

* In 1682, there were "1000 or 1200 souls;" 1703, the white population was 4,000; 1715, whites 6,250, negroes 10,000. South-Carolina then ranked but *eighth* among the colonies, in regard to whole population. Negro slaves formed part of the population of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, &c.

haps our mother and our sister have been kidnapped by these savages, and have suffered before their death at the stake, brutal indignities and mutilations, at the mere thought of which the soul recoils, and the heart turns sick. In the chances of war some of our enemies have fallen into our hands Private retaliation is not permitted. The military officers of the town have protected the prisoners from all harm by the infuriated populace. A vessel from our beloved country, England, (that deals largely in slaves on the African coast) has just sailed into the harbor. She has on board English wrought hand-cuffs and chains; and our English brother, the captain, who is on his way to the West Indies, offers a fair price for the diabolical savages in the town prison. Shall we keep them and torture them, and mock their agonies? Humanity forbids. Shall we sell them? Our safety demands it; it is better than killing them; and God be thanked for the happy arrival of our English slave-ship.

This is a representation of the truth. The selling of Indian captives resulted of course in some abuses, before the practice was abandoned. When, in the course of a few years, the safety of the colony no longer required it, no Indian was transported except for crimes.* The men against whom Mr.

* May 29, 1725. "Ordered that Col. Alex. Parris, Public Receiver, do forthwith sell the Indian now in gaol for the supposed murder of a white man to the northward in this Province, in order that he may be transported to Burmuda, Jamaica or Barbadoes, or some other of the West India Islands."

May 31, 1732. "His Excellency having asked the advice of Council in relation to an Indian woman delivered up by her own nation, now in the goal of this town, on suspicion of having murdered an Indian

Chalmers's bitter expressions are made, *were born —every one of them—in England;* which fact he had forgotten while writing his book, at the close of our Revolutionary war. We will proceed to examine his charge against his own countrymen, of "promoting Indian hostilities."

From the earliest period of the English settlement, the Spaniards of St. Augustine endeavored to instigate the Indians to its destruction. They were successful in engendering inimical dispositions, and were the authors of several dangerous wars. But there being no combination of the neighboring tribes, many of them were won to the English interest. Fire-arms soon took the place of the bow and arrow, and the savages were eager to use them. Who can point out an Indian tribe that had no enemies? Who that is reasonable can charge their acts of hostility against each other, to the colonists' "barbarous practice" of provoking Indian wars? Indeed, the more numerous the Indians were, provided they were in the friendship and alliance of the English, the greater barrier they formed against Spanish invasion, and the more lucrative was their trade. If the Spanish and English allies came into

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trader; it was resolved, that as it could not be fully proved that she was the person that murdered the said Indian trader, but strong presumptions appearing, ordered that Col. Parris cause her to be transported and sold, for the use of the Publick." See also an extract from Journals of Council of North-Carolina. Williamson's Hist. Appendix. This system of punishment, which resembles the Penitentiary, probably prevailed in all the colonies. Some Indian domestic slaves were held in Charleston; see advertisements Carol. Gazette. They were perhaps bought from their enemies, who would otherwise have tomahawked them.

conflict, it was a necessary consequence of their alliance, if not of their former enmities; and if they were supplied with ammunition (to withhold it would have been to assist in their destruction) and permitted to enjoy, according to their patrial customs, the triumphs of the scalp-dance and their songs of victory, they were contented and happy; and all the sympathizers of the present day, had they lived among them, could not have rendered them otherwise, or checked their mutual carnage. But we appeal to facts; not to exonerate entirely the colonists (for we have not in this country all the early records) but to prove that encouragement of Indian wars, was not the settled policy of the colony.

Gov. Archdale began his administration in August, 1695, twenty-five years after the founding of the colony. He was a proprietor, and without doubt, was well acquainted with all that had transpired in the settlement. He speaks of Gov. West, who first authorized the selling of prisoners of war, as "a moderate, just, pious, and valiant person." And whatever had been the conduct of the colonists, Archdale, a distinguished and an upright member of the Order of Friends, has passed so lenient a judgment on them, as having, in comparison with others, "but little Indian blood to answer for," that he could not have been acquainted with any settled policy of his predecessors, of weakening the tribes by fomenting strife between them, or for the more despicable purpose of trafficking in their captives. The following is part of a Preamble to an Act passed in the first year of Archdale's administration; it refers to previous years: "Whereas, the

Indian nations of that part of this Province of Carolina that lyes south and west of Cape Feare [the Province had not then been divided into North and South Carolina,] have for several yeares past, by means and interest of us, the subjects of King William, over England, &c., been furnished with clothes and all sorts of tools necessary for making their provisions, and have from time to time, as often as they have had need thereof, been protected and defended from their enemies, at our trouble, expences of time and charges, and by our forces, in consideration whereof they have not hitherto been any ways useful or serviceable, or contributing to the inhabitants of this province more than they have been particularly and specially rewarded for," and as the different tribes expressed their willingness; each hunter was required to furnish to the colony, "yearely, one wolfe's skinn, one tiger's skinn, or one beare's skinn, or two catt skinns."

In the passage from Mr. Chalmers, "then introduced," relates to the war with the Westoes, about 1680. I know not what period is meant by "long continued." It is incumbent on those who would support the charge, to prove by special instances that the Indian tribes were instigated to war by the colonists. *They needed no instigation.* The colonists, on the contrary, were often peace-makers. Archdale prevented (see his own account, Carroll's Coll.) the destruction of "two small nations" who, according to their custom, would have gone to war for a murder committed by one Indian upon another. In 1680, the war of the Westoes with their neighbors, was *contrary to their league with the colony*

(Vide Supra, p. 42.) But lest I exhaust the patience of my readers, I will leave this subject, after making a few extracts from the manuscript records of a later date. Council Journal, Sept. 1717. Arrival of "fifteen Indians of several nations, as Peedees, Waccamaws, Winways, Cape Feares, Waywees," desiring to continue and renew *their old friendship.* 1725. Instructions to the Indian agent, "If you find the Talapoosie nation and Abecas, [Upper Creeks] are desirous that the English should conclude a peace with the Cherokees for them, you must tell the Lower people that since the Talapoosie, &c., are desirous to be friends with the Cherokees, that you expect they'll give no further disturbance to the Cherokees, and that you in behalf of the English will undertake that the Cherokees shall not injure them." The Upper Creeks reply, "As for a peace with the Cherokees, we have not thought of as yet; for they have lately killed some of the principal warriors of our nation, and until we have had satisfaction, we will not rest; as soon as our corn is hard, we design to be with the Cherokees, and after that blow that we think to give them, if your government will undertake to make a peace, we will readily accept it." 1750. A letter of Geo. Galphin to Maj. William Pinckney, Agent for Indian Affairs, speaks of wars between the Creeks and Choctaws, and between the Choctaws and Chickesaws, and that a party of Notawagees and Lower Cherokees had set out against the Lower Creeks. "With regard to my preventing the Indians here from going where and when they please, to war or otherwise, I don't conceive a possibility of it." (Letter

from Geo. Cadogan.) Gov. Glen's policy towards the great nation of Cherokees is evident from his language: "While we can call them friends, they may be considered as a bullwark at our backs; for such numbers will always secure us on that quarter from the attempts of the French. Besides, the greater their numbers are, the more English strouds and duffills they will want, and the more skins we shall receive in exchange." And although their conduct *for seven years has been exceptionable*, he does not wish to engage in hostilities against them. From a letter of Raymond Demere: "The savages are an odd kind of people; as there is no law nor subjection amongst them, *they can't be compelled to do any thing, nor oblige them to embrace any party except they please.* The very lowest of them thinks himself as great and as high as any of the rest. Every one of them must be courted for his friendship with some kind of a feeling, and made much of; so what is called great and leading men amongst them are commonly old and middle aged people, who know how to give a Talk in favor of whom they have a fancy for; and the same may influence the minds of the young fellows for a time; *but every one is his own master.*" (MSS. Sec. Off.) "We should be," says Adair, an able judge, and the Indians' friend, "politically sorry for their differences with each other to be reconciled, as *long experience* convinces us that *they cannot live without shedding human blood* somewhere or other, on account of their jealous and fierce tempers in resentment of any kind of injury, and the martial preferment each obtains for every scalp of an enemy.

They are so extremely anxious to be distinguished by high war titles, that sometimes a small party of warriors on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected *in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps.*" "The officious hand of folly should not part them when they are earnestly engaged in their favorite element against each other." (P. 258.)

The men of every tribe may be divided into two classes; those who were too old to engage in offensive warfare, and the warriors. The former were counsellors, and their importance and influence were proportionate to their previous valor and services; the latter, early in life, prepared themselves for hardships and suffering, and deeds of blood. In hunting, they carried their weapons of war, the bow and knife. To circumvent and secure the wild deer, buffalo, and bear, required all the devices and cunning strategy which they would need in taking or destroying their human prey. When the condition of a nation or tribe demanded extreme wisdom to preserve it from ruin, the exertions of the aged counsellors were often inefficient to counteract the devilish thirst for blood that urged the young and impetuous warriors. "The young men did it, and we are sorry for it," was the perpetual excuse for injuries to the whites; and frequently, to save themselves from war, the perpetrators were apprehended after great difficulty, and delivered up to the injured party for punishment. Atta-kulla-kulla, when he suspected that the scalps brought in by a party of his warriors, had not been taken from their enemies, said, "They are young fellows, and would not come

back without something to show their barbarity." Sometimes a single resolute warrior went forth in quest of adventure and distinction, many hundreds of miles from his forest home;—and creeping, and crouching, and watching about the wigwams of his foes, sprang upon some defenceless woman or child; —and while the blood of his victim was still warm upon the hand that clutched the reeking scalp, he hurried back like a triumphant demon; yet durst for a moment stop to shriek forth a yell of defiance to the maddened multitude that rushed upon his track in wild pursuit.

Retaliation and a relentless spirit of revenge were fostered by the various tribes as a means of preserving the public honor. Murder for murder, scalp for scalp, was the principle sustained and enforced by the unanimous sentiment of entire nations. In their rude system of ethics, to kill one that had injured them, was not murder; to revenge—and to do so with every possible aggravation,—was superior to all obligations and passions which could restrain or impel their savage nature. In the redress of private wrongs, the legislative and judicial power was but the imperative force of custom; the executive, was the strength of each man's own right arm. "In cases of murder, the next in blood is obliged to kill the murderer, *or else he is looked upon as infamous* in the nation where he lives; and the weakness of the executive power is such that there is no other way of punishment but by the Revenger of Blood, as the Scripture calls it. For there is no coercive power in any of their nations." (Oglethorpe's letter, June 9, in Gentl. Mag. 1733, p. 413.)

TOPICS

IN THE

HISTORY OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

CONTINUED.

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PREFACE.

THREE of these articles have appeared in the "Evening News." When the series was begun, the condition in which the writer had found many of the manuscript records was communicated to Governor Seabrook, who appointed a gentleman of Columbia to copy those which would perhaps soon have been lost to us through the effects of time. This laborious and important work is still continued. It was also recommended to the Legislature to procure from London such records of historical value as are not in our possession. No appropriation was then made for this purpose. It is earnestly hoped that it may now be accomplished; for such a service to the literature of the State will, we are sure, be viewed with general interest. The article on the "Sources of our History" shows the nature and value of these records.

I have endeavored to supply, in some measure, a deficiency of our histories. We came into the midst of the Indians; the colony existed for many years almost by their sufferance; we obtained their lands from them, sometimes by purchase and negotiation, sometimes by war; for a long period the most valuable exports were the skins and furs brought from the swamps, valleys and mountains throughout the province; while in return, in every wigwam might have been found some article of British manufacture; the trade, alliance and intercourse with the tribes were, perhaps, the chief matters of concern to the Colonial government; and deputations from nations, far and near, were constantly arriving at Charleston; and yet, in general, we are merely told of our conflicts with them, as though an account of their customs, domestic condition, international relations, combination, strength, resources, and their influence in retarding the advance of the colony, formed no necessary part of the history of the State.

WM. JAS. RIVERS.

WERE THERE AMONG THE INDIANS ANY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CONDUCIVE TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE?

We have seen that among the Aborigines of our State the annihilation of a tribe or expulsion from its hunting grounds, was frequently occasioned by a protracted war. On the other hand but little benefit accrued to them from a long continuance of peace. They were strangers, we all know, to letters and science, painting, sculpture, and architecture. In agriculture, the richness of the soil, and the fertilizing beams of a Southern sky, supplied the place of skilful management in the raising of their maize, beans, potatoes, &c. Towns and villages had each a common farm, a particular portion of which was allotted to families and individuals; not so much from principles of private property, as for public convenience in the distribution of the produce. In times of scarcity, they received support from the store house of the town; and hence the buying and selling of provisions, did not, as with other people, give origin to wealth and merchandize. In mechanics, flint stone furnished the best tools they had, and they advanced not beyond the manufacture of some rude utensils, and the construction of cabins of the simplest form. The women made pottery, moccasins, belts, fringe, and fantastic ornaments of dress; but the majority of the poorer tribes wore only the "tail-cloth," the

body being protected against the weather and insects by a constant use of bear's oil. "The men perform nothing except erecting their mean habitations, forming their canoes, stone pipes, tambours, eagle's tail or standard, and some other trifling matters; for war and hunting are their principal employments."* The monuments of earth or artificial hills found throughout their country, were the work of former and unknown inhabitants. The Indians who lived near them could not tell at what time, or for what purpose, they had been raised.

Of course they had, as have all savages, their feasts, dances, and barbaric games. But in the serious business of life, there were at home no employments intellectual or manual, of sufficient dignity in their estimation, to engage their restless energies. With an invincible propensity to cling to their savage state, they passed through century after century without progressive improvement; and in view of their superior mental powers, pre-

* Bartram's Travels, p. 513. So also with those on our northern boundary—"They have no manner of musical instruments, such as pipe, fiddle, or any other arts, sciences, or trades, worth mentioning, which may be owing to their careless way of living, taking little or no pains to provide for the necessaries of life as the Europeans do."—Dr. Brickell's Nat. Hist. N. Car, 1737, p. 279. See Lawson (1701) for those north of Santee River.

"They had musicians, who were two old men, one of whom beat a drum, while the other rattled a gourd that had corn in it, to make a noise withal. To these instruments, they both sung a mournful ditty; the burden of their song was in remembrance of their former greatness and numbers of their nation," &c. "They thus give a relation of what hath passed among them to the younger fry." p. 39.

sented a striking contrast with the advancement of other races—

"Dehinc absistere bello,
Oppida cœperunt munire, et ponere leges."

When the chase in the wild woods was over, and the wigwam was supplied with food, the warrior gazed upon the trophies of his former bravery, and chanted the praises of the departed heroes of his race. He made for himself a new bow; he replenished his quiver; he whetted his scalping knife; he prepared his war paint; he started from his slumber at midnight, and his children awoke in terror at his half-uttered battle cry.

With a people of such character, whose glory and preferment must be achieved in conflicts with other tribes, it would be impossible to secure a continuance of peace, except by physical or moral compulsion. They must either be reduced to an incapacity for war—as were the small tribes in South-Carolina—or restrained by treaties and commercial advantages.

Much of the international relations of the Indians (if the term be not above the proper appreciation of their barbarism,) is explained by the fact that they were unhabituated to accumulation, and had no medium of exchange.* The tribes were entire-

* In some tribes there was a near approach to the use of a kind of money, viz: shells for ornament, and "wampum." They did not respect the possession of riches, which they compared to the fading paint on a warrior's face.

Adair, in proving the tribes to be of common origin, ascribes the difference of their rites and customs to estrangement from each other.

ly independent of each other for food, clothing, and utensils; so that before their traffic with the whites began,* there existed between them no intercourse or advantages of a commercial nature to check forays, stifle feuds, and render a cessation from war a blessed season for domestic prosperity, for the invention and cultivation of arts, and the beginning of the triumphs and glories of peace.

Being without commerce, they had left as a

The following passages relate to Indians about the head waters of the Pedee, &c. "It is very surprising to find so many different languages amongst them as there are, there being few nations that understand each other. But I believe the principal reason of this great difference and confusion of languages, is owing to these people seldom or never conversing with any nation but their own." "These differences in their languages cause jealousies and fears amongst them, which often occasion wars, wherein they destroy each other; otherwise the christians had not, in all probability, settled themselves so easily as they have done, had these tribes of savages united themselves into one people, or general interest, or were they so but every hundred miles together." They are entirely free from any love of riches or grandeur. (Brickell, p. 346.)

* This traffic effected but a slight change in the relation of tribe with tribe. Instances however occurred in which the Indians, in imitation of the white traders, carried small casks of rum, the commodity most valued by them, for exchange among the mountain tribes. In most cases, ere half the journey was performed, these merchants were found in jolly mood around the open cask, or raging like frantic bacchanals in the forest. If any rum were left, which seldom was the case, they filled the cask with water, and on arriving at their journey's end, retailed the mixture by the *mouthful*. The purchasers engaged the man with the most capacious mouth to be their measurer. They stood by with a bowl in one hand to receive it when measured, and with the other hand uplifted to knock the measurer down, should he attempt to swallow any.

means of permanent peace alliances for mutual protection. But as these imply an enemy against whom protection is sought, so they led to hostility, when with augmented strength were engendered a disposition to encroachment, and a haughty disdain of the power which had occasioned the alliance. According to the course of human affairs, if the combined nations conquered the original aggressor, the exterior pressure, preventing before the disjunction of the incohesive mass, being thus removed, the victors strove for mastery over each other; and the peace obtained—if for peace they fought—was changed to war, the results of which brought about again new combinations against the dominant power. By the policy that prevailed in some nations, of incorporating the conquered tribes, the conquerors appear only to have entered upon a more extended field of warfare.

Peace was often maintained between nations by the offering of satisfaction for injuries before retaliation had destroyed their amity. But, upon the whole, friendship with all their neighbors was the exception in the condition of their international relations. And we must conclude, that apart from the influence of the trade, intervention and protection of the whites, the most efficient preservatives of peace, were the incapacity of the tribes for sustaining conflicts, and the being so far removed from each other as to preclude all occasion of contact and collision.

Remarks upon the Religious belief of the Indians, and the obstacles to their conversion.

Human nature is endowed with a religious instinct as evidently as with affections and intellectual power. Man must worship something. The various forms of heathenism, almost universally exhibit some embodiment of the deity, and such mysterious rites as may have been devised to satisfy the imagination and control the devotional feelings of the people. But the Aborigines of our State had no idols—they built no altars—they consecrated no spot of earth in all their vales and sombre groves, whose solemn loneliness was disquieted only by echoes of the mountain stream or cataract.

In the royal grant of the immense tract of Indian territory embracing our State, the motive of converting the heathen to Christianity was prominently set forth. If indeed a serious signification were attached to this project, and if it were deemed obligatory on the part of the Proprietors, yet no period or method for its accomplishment seems at any time to have been contemplated. The first effort toward such conversion was made in 1702, when a missionary to the Yamassees was sent from England by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Governor of the Province, however, on account of the relations then existing between the colonists and Indians, con-

sidered the mission impolitic; and the labors of the missionary were directed to the settlement near Goose Creek.*

The hostile occupation of their country, the spirit of encroachment and aggrandizement displayed from the beginning, and the warlike attitude necessary for the temporal prosperity of the settlement, were obviously at variance with the teachings of the Bible; whilst the conflicting efforts of the Spanish missionaries, and the disreputable lives of many white men in their towns, produced in their minds a complete indifference to our religion.† To be-

* Besides the English residents, the slaves particularly were within the field of his labors. Importations from Africa often introduced greater savages and a worse heathenism, and, if possible, stranger dialects than those which were found existing in our forests. We may here mention that a natural antipathy was felt by the Indians against the negroes, and that to their unconquerable aversion the colonists for a long period owed much of their security. The sagacity and dislike of the Indian, when put in requisition, reclaimed the runaway in a wonderfully short time from the densest swamps and thickets. We have read nowhere of any alliance, intercourse or sympathy between the two races. For the dangerous position of the settlers, vide Hewit, p. 508. Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 648. MSS. Gov. Glen in 1754.

† Some things the Indians willingly learned from the whites:—"A French dancing master settling in Craven County, taught the Indians country dances, to play on the flute and hautboit, and got a good estate; for it seems the barbarians encouraged him with the same extravagance," &c. Oldmixon, 1708.

"They never argue against our religion, but with all imaginable indifference own that it is most proper for us that have been brought up in it." Law, p. 238. This author thought that amalgamation with the settlers was the surest means of their conversion. In 1707, the preamble to a law states, "the greater number of those persons that

come Christians, moreover, was to cease to be Indians; to cease from retaliation and revenge, from battle and the gory scalp, and from ancient customs and rites which distinguished them as a separate people.

It was a mistake to represent the Indians as willing to embrace Christianity. It was also erroneously said by many writers that they had no religion. What their hereditary belief really was, we cannot well understand; but that they had a religion, and pertinaciously strove to conceal it from strangers, will be shown in a brief notice of one of their ceremonies.*

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trade among the Indians in amity with this government, do generally lead loose, vicious lives to the scandal of the Christian religion, and do likewise oppress the people among whom they live by their unjust and illegal actions." By subsequent notices in the Carolina Gazette, this conduct appears never to have been remedied. Two traders once purchased Bibles in Charleston, which was thought sufficiently remarkable to be mentioned in the newspaper.

* Adair, who had the best opportunities for comprehending their belief from his friendship with them and long residence in their midst, found them offended and distrustful when he wrote letters or took notes; and he confesses that one of his difficulties was "the secresy and closeness of the Indians as to their own affairs, and their prying disposition into those of others." The tribes of North-Carolina had many customs "for which they will render no reason or account, and to pretend to give a true description of their religion is impossible, "let writers pretend what they will." "I could never get admittance to see what they were doing, though I was at great friendship with the king and great men, but all my persuasions availed me nothing." From the mysteries spoken of, the majority of the Indians were also excluded. Lawson, p. 211. Adair tells us that those who ventured improperly upon the religious ceremonies "were dry-scratched with snakes teeth,

The French garrison at Fort Charles, in 1562, were on most friendly terms with an Indian king, probably of Edisto, who invited them to certain religious "ceremonies most strange to recite." The Chief, however, kept his foreign friends closely in his wigwam during the celebration, and was greatly offended when he noticed some of them laughing. "This he did," says Laudonniere, "because the Indians are very angry when they are seen in their ceremonies." Notwithstanding the subtlety of one of the Frenchmen, who hid himself in the woods to watch their proceedings, and afterwards the bribing of an Indian boy to disclose the meaning of its worship, the strangers remained in ignorance of its nature. Two centuries later, Adair endeavored to solve the secret. His account of the celebration differs in several respects, but it evidently relates to the same divinity, and the changes may be ascribed to the lapse of time, or the varying customs of nations who held but little intercourse with each other. The holy drink of the cusseena plant was prepared for this religious solemnity; and, during the ceremonies they sang in monosyllables "their sacred mysterious name."*

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fixed in the middle of a split reed, or piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to supple the stiffened skin." p. 47.

* See also Bartram, p. 458. Law, pp. 24, 90; Adair, p. 97. But to conclude with the last author, that Jehovah was the mysterious name of the God whom the Indians worshipped, would require us to be first convinced that they were descendants of the ancient Jews. Schoolcraft remarks of the Indians of the present day, that though

But whatever were their notions of the Deity and his attributes, they still lay so far within the dark circle of ignorance and superstition, that no beam of divine light seems to have awakened an appropriate veneration in their souls, or influenced their conduct in the relations of life. If indeed their motives are intelligible to us, their actions, even when most worthy, are not referable to any acknowledged religious precepts or standard of moral duties.

The more simple and common belief recognized two spirits; the one good, the other evil. The one they regarded as the maker of every thing, the giver of the fruits of the earth and of all blessings; the other was the author of all the ills and calamities of life. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and in future rewards for good and wicked deeds, of which they could give "a pithy account." But their opinion of the benevolence of the Great spirit induced them, generally, to believe that the life beyond the grave would be one of felicity only, the joys of which would resemble those of earth. The effect of this belief was a stoical indifference under most dreadful afflictions, and calmness and bravery in perils and in death. Absurd legends and superstitions of imaginary agents were also found among them—a traditional faith perhaps, yet not a mythological system; for the priesthood enjoyed no distinction as an organized class, and owed their pro-

they believe in many gods (or spirits,) they worship only one; and they look forward to a future life of sensual enjoyment.

minence in the community in a great measure to the trickery of the fortune-teller, and to their pretensions in the medical art.

There were among the Indians some more distinguished than the rest for an observance of moral rules and the laws of nature. Their shrewdness and reflection, and the mental and bodily activity exercised in the hunter-life, produced in many instances a development of the moral and rational being that must be esteemed remarkable in comparison with their rude mode of living, and their delight in barbarous customs. But the restraints of rectitude and clemency could not encompass or withhold the wild passions of the multitude, and particularly of the unbridled young men. Theft and robbery, adultery and murder, were not unknown among them, and frequently entailed an obligation to further depredation and crime, from their custom of private retaliation. Sometimes a vicious malefactor, being an outcast from his own people, roamed the forests alone, or sought refuge and sympathy in an ignoble tribe. Sometimes the guilty were condemned to death in a summary manner, or delivered up for punishment to the party whom they had injured. In war they were all alike. In peace they were as different as are the estimates of the different travellers who have described their character. On the Wateree, the Indians, we are told, were thieves, stealing with their feet if you watched their hands; lazy and poor, living in dark smoky cabins; or shockingly licentious and despica-

ble. On the other hand, the Creeks are described as honest, liberal, hospitable, considerate, affectionate, industrious, frugal, temperate, persevering, charitable, forbearing, and needing no European civilization.

The religious and moral condition in which the Aborigines presented themselves to our ancestors, are indicated by these general remarks upon this topic; which may serve, perhaps, to point the way to investigation, rather than to satisfy inquiries which will suggest themselves to the reader.

Indian Trade.

A century ago the annual export from Charleston of deer skins alone was 70,000. With the exception of rice, the furs and skins, of various kinds, obtained from the Indians, were then by far the most valuable commodity in the colonial trade.* But the exportation of rice had been rapidly increasing in proportion to its more improved and extensive culture;† whilst the skins had been an

* Gov. Glen's "Description of South-Carolina."

† The value of the swamp and river lands was long unknown. They were regarded as pestilential. When found to be best adapted to the cultivation of rice, and this had become a staple commodity, the importations of slaves increased as follows: in 1715, forty-five years after the settlement, there were in the colony 10,000 blacks; in 1724, 32,000; in 1731, 40,000; in 1763, about 70,000.

article of export for seventy or eighty years, and the hunters and the beasts which they pursued had equally decreased in the forests around us. Turning our attention back to earlier times, we find that in 1731 the quantity of rice exported was much less, while the deer skins were about 255,000, and the annual rate "above 200,000." Moreover, there was a vast difference in the labor and expense of procuring these commodities. "They carry on," says a writer of that time, "a great trade with the Indians, from whom they get these great quantities of deer skins, and those of other wild beasts; in exchange for which, they give them only lead, powder, coarse cloth, vermilion, iron-ware and some other goods, by which they have a very considerable profit."* And earlier still, in 1700, when we cannot suppose that rice was an article of export, the Indian trade was so lucrative, as to cause the remark that those who engaged in it became rich sooner than any other people in the Province.†

Before the removal from Old Charlestowne, on the western bank of the Ashley, the Proprietors

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* "A description of the Province of South-Carolina, drawn up at Charlestowne, in Sept., 1731."

From the MSS., 1716, I take the following prices:—Pistol, 20 skins; axe, 5 skins; sword, 10 skins; 12 flints, 1 skin; knife, 1 skin; 30 bullets, 1 skin. All skins considered alike, including Beaver. But the prices are very variable, as are seen in the records. The Indians often came to Charleston to obtain a regulation of rates.

In Gov. Glen's time the skins sold—Deer skins, £50 sterling a hundred; Beaver, 4s. 3½d. a pound.

† Lawson, p. 87.

forbade all trade with the Indians for seven years, that the settlers might become "more numerous and better able to defend themselves." At the close of the Westoe war in 1681, many individuals had added to their traffic the purchase of captives, and the Proprietors endeavoured to check abuses of this kind in the trade and intercourse with the natives, by taking under their protection (nominally I suppose,) all the Indians within four hundred miles of Charleston.* In 1691, it became expedient to limit, by a heavy penalty, the extent of trade and travelling to the vicinity of the settlement;† but private enterprise must soon have rendered the enactment nugatory, for Archdale relates, not many years after, that the colonists had extended their inland trade to the distance of one thousand miles.

It was however of much greater importance to regulate the trade than to prescribe its limits; to secure, if possible, justice to the Indians, and to protect and promote the interests of the settlers. In the constant struggle of the Legislature against the cupidity and oppression of their countrymen, no efficient plan for the regulation of the trade appears to have been adopted until 1707; when Commissioners, amenable to the Assembly, were appointed as superintendents and directors; an agent, with a stated salary was chosen, who could only be removed by the Assembly; a pecuniary equivalent

* Chalmers and Oldmixon, Carr. Coll., pp. 313, 409.

† Statutes, vol. 2, p. 64.

was granted to the Governor in lieu of the presents it had been customary for him to receive from Indian deputations,* and stringent measures were enacted in regard to the subordinates engaged in the trade, and the manner in which it should be conducted. After 1716 the trade required garrisons and factories,† and had become so important a source of wealth as to be jealously guarded as a means of public revenue. But the policy of bringing the whole system within the cognizance of the Assembly, excluded the Executive from an exercise of power in the most active field of his government, whilst he owed his position at the head of affairs to an authority often at variance with the Assembly and the people. Hence numerous laws were passed and repealed, yet the Indian trade never became free from abuses, nor established and

* The Statute mentions £100 yearly; but I have read in the MSS. at Columbia, the correspondence between the Governor, Sir Nath. Johnson and the Assembly, in which £200 were offered as an equivalent for his Indian perquisites and refused. In 1716, the annual compensation was £200.

† It being the resolution and sense of the whole country not to have any more a settled store among the Indians, but by degrees cause the Indians to come to our forts and purchase what they want."—MSS.

"The Charikees utterly dislike coming down to the garrisons to deal, and will not agree to that proposal on any account, (except for rum.")—Ib. Journal Comsr. of Trade, 1710–1718.

Many abuses and much bloodshed would have been prevented had this wise course been adopted at the beginning of the settlement; but the enterprise of the traders continued to resist the most salutary laws, as is exhibited through the pages of numerous volumes in Secretary of State's Office.

governed with that energy and concentration of purpose which its importance and complicated interests demanded; notwithstanding the subsequent modifications of the system by which, (on the transfer of the Colony from the Proprietors to the King,) the Royal Governors obtained a more immediate control of the officers employed in the management of its affairs.

To enter upon a full exposition of this topic, it would be necessary to embrace an account of the taxes imposed, the application of the income to the erection of fortifications, the extension of our frontier settlements and their connection with the military organization of the Province. But the little which we have written from widely scattered materials, is sufficient to justify our astonishment at finding no information in our histories concerning a subject so important, that on its proper regulation, (as the public laws repeatedly declared,) depended "the safety, welfare and preservation of the Province."

Indian Towns, Government, etc.

The Indian towns were more or less adjacent, in accordance with the extent of territory free from incursion, and the scarcity or abundance of game. It was remarked of the Creeks that their warlike habits were strengthened by their living closely together for the sake of mustering on a sudden against attacks of the neighboring Choctaws, and from the necessity of hunting at a great distance from home. The towns were invariably situated on a river or stream,* and contained each fifty or sixty warriors, generally less, but in some instances more than a hundred.† Polygamy was allowed in most tribes, and the women led a very dissolute life from early age till their marriage. In a prosperous nation the towns averaged three hundred men, wo-

* For ablution and fishing. The young Indians were very expert in taking fish with reed harpoons, searching their accustomed retreats among rocks and beneath the steep river banks.

† In 1740, the lands along the Savannah, from Ebenezer to Briar Creek, were in possession of the Euchees. Their town contained but one hundred inhabitants, "few of them stay now in the town, choosing rather to live dispersed." There was another settlement of Euchees at Silver Bluff, (Force's Tracts.) In 1757, thirty-two towns of the Cherokees contained but 1990 warriors. (Ind. Bk., Secr. Office.) Thirty-one towns in North-Carolina, in 1708, numbered but 1608 fencible men. (Williamson, p. 282.) The Sewee, Santee, Wateree, Waxsaw, Winyah, and other remnants of tribes were feeble and scattered, and where they dwelt together their huts could not properly be termed towns. The towns enumerated by Lawson, (p. 234,) contained from 80 to only 6 or 10 fighting men.

men and children. Among broken and dispersed nations the towns were reduced to an insignificant number of inhabitants. There were neither numerous tribes nor large towns between Charleston and the Catawbas, nor westward, except the Cherokee towns, which in 1750 did not average more than fifty warriors.

These towns were independent of each other in government,* if we can so call what was "simply natural, and as little complicated as that which is supposed to direct or rule the approved economy of the ant and the bee." (Bart, p. 500.) There was no exclusive executive authority. The greatest man insensibly became king, and was only regarded

* The towns of the Lower Creeks "have each their different government, but are allied together, and speak the same language." (Force's Tracts, vol. 1, No. 2.) "Every town is independent of another—their own friendly compact continues the union;" (Adair,) and such were the tribes found by Vasquez und Laudonniere, in the sixteenth century, and also in our own day in the West; "with respect to government, during all the time we have had them for neighbors, they may be said to have had no government at all. Personal independence has kept the petty chiefs from forming confederacies for the common good. Individuals have surrendered no part of their original private rights, to secure the observance of the rest. There has been no public organization expressed or implied. The consequence has been that the law of private redress and revenge prevailed." Schoolcraft, 1851. The documents which are sometimes found in the official MSS. representing monarchies among the Indians, and the surrender of the rights and domain of the nation to individuals, are to be considered as written by Europeans as title deeds. Vide copies in Appendix to Mills' Statistics and McCall's Georgia. The power of their chiefs is correctly shown in Oglethorpe's Letter, Gent. Mag, 1733.

as bravest or wisest, not as lord and dictator. On important occasions he called together a Council* of distinguished elders, who after solemn deliberation made known their decision to the young men of the town, exhorting them to put it in execution under the guidance of such war-captains and headmen as had won their leadership by exhibitions of superior bodily and mental endowments. Certain conjurors and quacks, sometimes called priests, also held a high position among them, being believed to commune with spirits and to possess powers of cure, enchantment, and divination. The greatest personal influence, howsoever gained, ruled them in all undertakings and emergencies. This influence might extend from town to town; one extraordinary man became a kind of Emperor of the whole nation, and one town a kind of capital of the whole confederacy. The alliance of the towns looked not to peace, but to war. Tribes whose

* Detailed accounts of the proceedings of these assemblages are in the records of the Secretary of State's Office. See also Adair, Bartram, Lawson, Oglethorpe's Letters, &c. It may not be uninteresting to give here a specimen of the passes furnished by the traders to friendly Indians, (MSS., 1750.) "To all people whom it may concern:—Whereas, the bearers of this being our brotherly Indians, desire the favor of you to let them pass and repass, they being going to war against their enemy Indians, and desire the favor of us to acquaint you of the same, in the hopes that you'll supply them in a little victuals, if they stand in need of it, without killing any of your creatures, to prevent their doing any damage; whereas, many damages has been done by these Northward Indians, in hopes you'll think nothing of their passing and repassing, they being not the same, but our friendly Indians that lives in our lands." Signed by four traders.

languages were radically different, and who were at variance with each other, were occasionally leagued against mutual enemies. When not engaged in war, the men were absent from home three or four months of every year on hunting expeditions. Being of a roving nature, no strong attachment confined them permanently to one spot. The towns, at best a collocation of huts, were often abandoned, as necessity or interest prompted a removal. Their true home was wherever the forest oak spread its grateful shade, and the green pines rustled on high their innumerable tops; wherever the stream burst from the mountain side, or winding smoothly through the vale, reflected from its quiet surface the antlered flocks that stooped to quench their thirst.

If the Indians of South-Carolina had united for the destruction of the English colony, they might have completely overwhelmed it at any time during the first half century of its existence. But their improvident dispositions, estrangement from each other, variety of languages, their rivalry, hostilities and eagerness for the debasement and ruin of contiguous tribes, prevented effectual combination even under the instigation and management of Frenchmen and Spaniards. The English, on the other hand, were indulgent towards them, were able to supply all their wants, and could, in the end, always vanquish them in battle, whatever their impenetrable stratagems might be, their unexpected assaults, their painted faces, and whoops and fiendish yells.

Their respect for the whites was nothing more than a dread of their power; for they despised their pale hue, ridiculed the wearing of breeches, laughed at their military parades, and felt no deference for a civilization effacing the savage endurance and ferocity that constituted their principal virtues, nor any relish for a religion enjoining upon them humility, love, and the return of good for evil. Little reliance could be placed in the faith of treaties, and their rhetorical speeches of brotherly affection, and assurances of burying the tomahawk, wiping away the blood on the war path, and keeping forever bright the chain of friendship. Arthur Middleton, in his address to the Commons in 1725, advising the erection of forts along the Indian frontier, says truly, "it is well known, by long experience, that force is of more prevalency than argument, with these people."

Without entering at present, as it was our design to do, upon an account of the wars waged between our ancestors and the Aborigines of the State, we will briefly notice that two important events mark, in this respect, our colonial history, viz: the general conspiracy of the surrounding tribes, which was crushed by the premature movement of the Yamassees in 1715; and the treaty with France in 1763, which reduced to definite boundaries the English and French possessions, and put an end to the conflicting machinations of rival Indian allies. In the wars preceding the former event, many hard battles had been fought, and heroic adventures

accomplished; and before the latter event the people of South-Carolina had been made familiar with the names of Washington and Marion, and other youthful leaders, whom heaven, it seems, was preparing for achievements of a higher character in our struggle of the Revolution.

The Sources of our History.

In the history of a State founded in the sixteenth century after Christ, by deliberate acts of an enlightened government, and under supervision of highly educated gentlemen, we can hardly believe that our information could be defective, or encumbered and vitiated by fables and uncertainties. Yet such is the fact with regard to the early history of our State. We are of opinion, however, that sufficient and authentic records, elucidative of all our early history, were kept and do still exist in our public offices, and in the archives of England, and perhaps of Spain and France; and that the obscurities and deficiencies in our history have been occasioned by inadequate research on the part of our historians.

The two voyages of Vasquez de Ayllon, (1520, 1525,) and the first expedition of Ribault, (1562,) are the only direct and appropriate sources of the history of South-Carolina, before its settlement by

the English, (1670;) perhaps it is more correct to say, before the granting of the charter in 1663. The accounts of the visits of Vasquez, as contained in the Spanish chronicles translated in Hakluyt, furnish no accurate knowledge of the country or its inhabitants. Laudonniere's narration of Ribault's expedition is a semi-official report, addressed to the King of France. It was committed to print about 1587. The collection of De Bry, containing engravings of the drawings by Morgues, was published in 1590. The first treatise by Laudonniere, which alone refers to events within our present border, contains, in addition to the proceedings of the French, some general information of the Indian tribes about Port Royal. Though meagre, it may be relied upon as the most authentic source of our ante colonial history. While he commanded the "Arx Carolina," on the river May or St. John's, Sir John Hawkins of England arrived off the coast in search of water for his fleet. The relation which is given by Laudonniere of this visit, and of all that occured during it, is substantiated in the narrative of Hawkins' voyage, written by a Mr. Sparke, one of his companions. Also, on collating his description of a special feast of the Indians, with the fuller description of it by Adair, he is found to be correct in all that he says of it, although the ceremonies were viewed in a different light by the two authors.

The numerous expeditions from England of the Cabots, Davis, Frobisher and others, (most of them sent out by the enterprise of merchants,) had been

directed to the discovery of a passage to India. The success of the Spanish colonies, and especially the new efforts of France, induced the English government, in the reign of Elizabeth, to undertake the colonization of North America. Forty-two years after the landing at Plymouth, Carolina, in the fruitful South, was allotted to the nobility and cavaliers. But their people—their hewers of wood and drawers of water—were of necessity gathered from that class of society that did not, in feeling and form, harmonize with them. Under the political rights granted originally to this people by the charter, and through the liberal concessions on the part of the Proprietors, for the purpose of gaining settlers from England and from the Northern Colonies, there sprang up a democracy more powerful and intractable than the Proprietors had anticipated. Hence "Locke's" Constitution.* The cir-

* There are facts to support this view. The first charter was granted in 1663; the second in 1655; this was always recognized by the people. It provided that no *law or constitution* could be established *without the consent* of the freemen of the colony. Among the earliest settlers, (in what afterwards became North-Carolina,) were Independents from Massachusetts, claiming the "civil privileges" they had enjoyed there. The first letter of instruction (September 18, 1663,) from the Proprietors to Sir William Berkley, directs him to "grant as much as is possible rather than deter any from planting there;" and even to allow the settlers from New-England to choose a Governor for themselves, should they desire to do so. Many of these settlers removed to Ashley River Colony as soon as it was established. This colony had left England in January, 1670, and first landed at Port Royal, with a "rough sketch" of the Constitution attributed to Locke. This Constitution was completed and signed by the Proprietors in March, 1670.

cumstances attending the founding of the colony, and the formation of the colonial government, gave rise to frequent and long continued contests for *principles;* and will ever render our history from this, its true beginning, peculiarly interesting and important.

Of the sources of our history which exist in print, a part purport to be histories; but we will not discriminate between them and more disjected materials, inasmuch as the authors wrote from personal knowledge, or from private accounts of those acquainted with the unchronicled affairs of the colony.

The object was to make the Colonial Government most agreeable to the Monarchy of England, "and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy." A copy being sent to the Colonists on Ashley River, was rejected by them. It was modified, I think, five times, but always rejected. The charter reserved nothing to the English "king and nation but the sovereign dominion, without power of superintendence or means of coercion." The rights secured by it were so fundamentally democratic, and so eagerly and firmly appropriated by the people, that no constitutions, remonstrances, nor obstinate opposition on the part of the Proprietors could annul, counteract, or alter the consequences of their original concessions. Lord Clarendon, the Chancellor, was impeached, because, "among other offences, he had introduced arbitrary government into the plantations. Yet," continues Chalmers, "they who attentively peruse the charters granted to Connecticut, Rhode Island and Carolina, while he held the seals, will probably be of opinion that his crime consisted in sacrificing the legal powers of the crown and the national rights, at the throne of his colonial prepossessions." The view we have endeavored to present is, that under the charter of 1665, and the liberal privileges granted by the policy of the Proprietors, a democracy existed in Carolina before "Locke's" Constitution was framed; the design of which was, we believe, to check the extension of democratic principles.

An exploring expedition was sent out in 1663, of which a brief but interesting account, by Capt. Hilton, has been republished in Force's Coll. of Hist. Tracts. It does not appear to have been known to any of our historians. This exploration was undertaken by several gentlemen of Barbadoes; and, at the same time, a similar exploration was made by order of the proprietors for the purpose of selecting a place for settlement. The first settlements being in North-Carolina, all the sources of the early history of that State belong equally to this—the condition of affairs there had a direct and powerful influence upon the infant Colony at Ashley River.

Newspapers, such as we now see them, did not exist at this period. Pamphlets were the means of disseminating information on the soil, climate, products and advantages of the new colonies in America. Several pamphlets of this character are in Carroll's collection. The first history giving an account of the discovery, settling and government of the Province, was that by Gov. Archdale, in 1707. His object appears to be the vindication of his conduct during his administration. Oldmixon's history was published in the next year. He had lived in the family of which Gov. Blake, (the successor of Archdale, in 1696,) was a member. Besides the information received from individuals, he refers to Archdale's history, a tract called "The case of the Dissenters in Carolina;" another, "The Representation of the members of Colleton Coun-

ty; also, "Memorials published by the Agent of Carolina;" and the Rev. Mr. Marston's "Letters to Dr. Stanhope." In 1709 were published the travels of John Lawson, Surveyor General of North-Carolina. He travelled in 1701 from Charleston through the N. E. portion of the State to North-Carolina. We are indebted to him for a minute account of the country, and of the condition and habits of the tribes through which he passed. Chalmer's Pol. Ann., 1780, does not extend, in the relation of events in South-Carolina, beyond the time of Archdale. It is very valuable in elucidating the first 25 years of our history. It is more accurate than the works of Hewit, Oldmixion and Archdale, and is compiled chiefly from the manuscripts in the offices of London. Gov. Drayton speaks of it as "the best history of the rise and progress of South-Carolina, down to that time." "In dates and early matters of fact," it was Ramsay's paramount authority. Chalmers was a lawyer who practised in the colonies until the Revolution. Being a royalist, he returned to England and obtained a situation in the government offices, which gave him free access to the manuscripts. The history of Dr. Hewit, of which we have spoken in a preceding essay, was compiled as a continuous narrative of events from the founding of the colony till the Revolution. The tract of Gov. Glen, 1761, (which is not a history, but a description of Carolina at that time,) was meant to impress upon the English people the importance of the colony, and the commercial advan-

tages it afforded. Two important tracts in the Charleston Library, (also in Carroll's Coll.,) are "The narrative of the Proceedings of the People in 1719," by Francis Yonge, and the "Report of the Committee of the Commons in 1741, on the Spanish invasion of Oglethorpe."

The number of printed works relating to this State, are perhaps sufficient for three or four additional volumes to the collections by Mr. Carroll. The following are the most important mentioned in Rich's Bibliotheca Amer. Nova., 1707, "The humble submission of several Kings, Princes, Generals, &c, to the crown of England," to Sir Nath. Johnson, the present Governor of Carolina, &c., folio. 1710, "A letter from South-Carolina on the soil, &c.," 63. pp. 1716, the Address of Stephen Goden to the Board of Trade; also, an Address to Gov. Nicholson, by twenty-eight merchants, showing the history of paper currency from 1702. These are mentioned in Chalmers' "Introduction to the Revolt," &c. 1736, "Report of the Committee appointed to examine into the proceedings of the people of Georgia, with respect to the province of South-Carolina, and the disputes subsisting between the two colonies." 1735, a new voyage to Georgia, South-Carolina, &c., with a curious account of the Indians, pp. 62.

Passing by many tracts and other publications of more recent date, we must allude to the newspapers of the Northern colonies and of England, and to the Carolina Gazette, from 1732; to the periodi-

cals of London and Edinburgh, the Gentleman's Magazine, Annual Register, &c., which frequently contain letters from individuals furnishing interesting details; above all, to the Preambles and Laws of the "Statutes at Large." There are doubtless many pamphlets of which we have no mention, and many works not purporting to treat of South-Carolina, which yet afford materials for our early history. For example, in Humphrey's Hist. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, there are original contributions to the history of our State, and a map exhibiting the extent of the English settlements in 1730, with the position of the old parish churches, &c.

In this cursory glance at the sources of our history which exist in print, I have confined myself to those anterior to 1750; and to those only that had fallen under my notice while investigating during less than two months a particular subject. The Revolutionary political agitation, commencing soon after 1760, produced a vast number of pamphlets both in this country and England. It is unnecessary to speak of the abundant material relating to this and subsequent periods; or of the historical works of our own and neighboring States since the Revolution.*

Of the *manuscript records* of our history, some

* For other sources too numerous to be noticed in this article, see Carroll's Hist. Collections, 2 vols.; Force's Coll., 4 vols.: O. Rich's Bibliotheca, or catalogue of books and papers relating to American History; and the list in Drayton's Carolina.

are in our possession, but most of them in England. The oldest that we have begins thus:—"Charles Town, in the Province of Carolina—Col. Joseph West, Governor. In the sessions of Parliament, viz.: the twenty fifth day of August, one thousand six hundred and seventy and one, at Charles Town upon Ashley River, in the Province of Carolina aforesaid, pursuant to the Lords Proprietors' directions, the said Parliament out of themselves chose five persons, namely:—Mr. Thos. Gray, Mr. Maurice Matthews, Lieutenant Henry Hughes, Mr. Christopher Portman, and Mr. Ralph Marshall, and the same day returned the names of the said persons and presented them to the Governor and the Lords Proprietors' Deputies, to be joined with the said Governor and Deputies, as members of the Grand Council for the people therein, to act and do as the Lords Proprietors have directed." This volume is formed by the putting together of remnants of miscellaneous records. The pages are deficient, misarranged, and some of them inverted. From its mutilated and in part illegible condition, it is only valuable to us in furnishing isolated facts. It contains dates from Barbadoes, 1670; Charlestown, 1671, and with wide omissions as far as 1689.

The next is an old book of memorials of grants commencing in 1675, and another in 1682. The grants mention the avocations of the grantees, as merchants, mariners, tailors, carpenters, sawyers, bricklayers, butchers, leather cutters, &c. From these volumes may be gathered not only the indus-

trial pursuits of the people, but the cession of lands by the neighboring Indians, and the extension of the white population. Most of the territory ceded is bounded in some direction by "the sea" and "lands uninhabited," and on the north "by the Apalathean mountains." It is more compatible with ignorance of the geography of the country on the part of the settlers than with their shrewdness, to have obtained for their "£10 of lawful English money and other valuable considerations," a surrender of larger regions than the small tribes on the coast were entitled to.

We remark in the beginning that the peruser of these antiquated manuscripts, often unimportant, and written in every variety of ill penmanship, is occasionally enlivened by meeting with what is quaint or amusing. The folio in which the minutes of Council were kept before the Revolution of 1719, being new and but little used, the minutes were entered in it after the Revolution, but the book is turned upside down. Charleston is styled "Charles city" for two years; and we meet with proceedings of the "Mayor and Aldermen" in 1723. There is said to be also on record a message to the Assembly, complaining that but one shoe-maker being in the province, his charges for cobbling were exorbitantly high; and numerous entries relate to matters ephemeral in their nature and unconnected with the public interests. But while we might be regretting the meagre result of an hour's research, our attention is arrested by a sentence significant of many

things, as the following from the same folio: "March 4, 1725. *Resolved*, That one hundred pounds proclamation money is equivalent to five hundred of the present currency of this Province; and ordered that Alex. Paris, Public Treasurer, do pay the Reverend the Clergy their respective salaries," or the recall of our troops from Virginia, because there were between three and four thousand slaves in the city in 1754, &c.

In the Secretary of State's Office, in Columbia, are the "Council Journals," in forty-one volumes, from the year 1717. The Governor and Council were the Executive of the town and province and constituted also the Upper House of the Colonial Parliament, while the Representatives formed the Lower Branch or Commons House of Assembly. No. 2 of the journals contains minutes of the Board of Church Commissioners, appointed by the Act for establishing religious worship in the province. The others contain a faithful exhibition of the administration of domestic affairs, and of the trade and intercourse with the Indians. In the time of Gov. Glen, the conference and talks of Indian deputations, the letters, reports, &c., of traders and agents, were entered in separate volumes, (of which there are four in the Secretary's office,) called "Books of Indian Affairs." They extend from 1750 to 1760. There are many other Mss. of later date. Of the forty-five volumes above mentioned, a portion is much impaired by the effects of time. We want

the journals prior to 1717 ;* in No. 1 there is a chasm from Oct., 1717, to May, 1725 ; No. 3 begins June, 1726, very little is recorded ; and the next No. begins June, 1730. After this the entries are less deficient. There is, however, a chasm of five years, from 1763 to 1768. Some of the missing Mss. may be in other offices.

In the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives are the Mss. journals of the proceedings of the Commons House of Assembly from the year 1702. Of these we want the journals of 1721 and '2 and from 1728 to 1733.

The records of the Clerk's office of the Senate begin in 1782, and will be of great interest to the future historian. Besides the records of the Court in Charleston, and other public documents, there is doubtless a large quantity of Mss. of historic value in possession of private families among the mouldering relics of the garret or lumber room. The success of the Historical Committee of the Charleston Library Society, a few years ago, should have induced them to continue their useful collections.

But the most abundant sources of our history are the manuscripts in London, and perhaps on the Continent. The Spaniards were the first who visited our coast. Some of them were found living among the Indians at Port Royal in 1663. Their settlement at St. Augustine was the rival and enemy of that at Charleston, and they frequently came in contact

* Since this was written, the "Journal 1710–1718," has been found; and other Mss. which should have been in Sec. of State's Office.

with the Carolinians during a period of sixty years, or until the colonization of Georgia. The French, from their settlements at New-Orleans and Mobile, from their chain of Forts along the Mississippi and its tributaries; from their bold efforts to secure to their interest the Indian tribes; and from their national enmity to the English, afforded to the settlers in Carolina constant alarm and trouble until 1763, or the "Peace of Paris." I believe that no examination has been made of the archives of Spain and France; but it is reasonable to suppose that they contain many records relating to our early history.

In 1829, under resolutions of the Legislature, Col. Cruger examined the records in London, and from his report of their contents we extract the following passages:—In the State Paper Office, are seventeen volumes of "Warrant Books" and "Trade Papers," from Oct., 1663, to Dec., 1761, which contain numerous reports and official letters relating to the Colony. Also, ten manuscript folio volumes relating to this State. "They consist chiefly of the originals and copies of letters from various persons, including the correspondence of the Governors and Lieut. Governors of the Colony with the Government in England, and the instructions and reports that passed between them; acts, resolutions, memorials, petitions and addresses, from the assembly and from individuals, presentations of grand juries, and affidavits and proceedings in courts of justice; pamphlets and newspapers published in Carolina; talks and treaties with the Indians, accounts of their situation

and conduct, and plans for their management; constituting altogether a rich and authentic mass of information relating to the history and statistics of the Colony, its government and public affairs, climate, products and commerce, from its earliest settlement down to the period of the Revolutionary war." In the same office are ten other volumes, entitled "Plantations General," which commence in 1765. "They contain, among other matters, circular orders and instructions from Great Britain for the Government of the American Colonies and of the troops there stationed, accounts of congresses, councils, talks and treaties with the Indians, despatches, reports and journals of officers of the army and of superintendents of Indian affairs, giving descriptions of the numbers and conditions of the various tribes, their wars, habits and customs, and of the territory in their occupation—estimates and details of colonial expenses, the correspondence between Governors in America and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, with the maps and charts of the country, and papers relative to boundary lines." In the "Privy Council Office" are many records from 1663 to 1777. Some of the subjects are imports and exports, the consideration of the form of government for the colony, complaints of the inhabitants against the assemblies and against the Lord Proprietors, the settlement and dividing of the colony into parishes, products and fiscal concerns, its internal affairs and foreign relations. The records of these various offices are now collected

together in what is called the "State Paper Office."

These notices are sufficent to show the importance of the British archives in relation to our colonial history. Mr. Bancroft, in his letter of last year to our Governor, says:—"Of the value of these documents, I can only say that on them and similar ones I employed persons constantly, sometimes five or six at a time, to copy for me, all the while I was in Europe; which I should not have done if I had not thought them of great interest."

From this sketch of the sources of our history, though brief and incomplete, we are sustained in the conclusion that a proper history of our State has not yet been written; and also in the conviction that abundant materials for such a work are within the reach of any one, whose soul delights not merely to linger in contemplation on battle fields and amidst dilapidated strongholds and crumbling columns and arches, but patiently to labor and search through dusty and decaying records for the traces of intellectual progress, the development of political principles, and the struggling upward of the spirit of Liberty through darkness and strife into an enlightened Republicanism.

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Bancroft Collection.
Purchased in 1893.